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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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CONTINENT MAIN 1986 SWEDISH AID RECIPIENT

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 25 Mar 86 p 9

[Article by Carin Stahlberg]

[Text] Africa will be the focus of Sweden's aid projects in 1986. This is especially true of southern Africa which is being hard-hit by South Africa's destabilization policy.

"There will be lots of drama in 1986. There is greater determination in South Africa than there has been in the past. This emerged from last weekend's talks with ANC leader Oliver Tambo and Bishop Desmond Tutu. There will be greater demands on Swedish aid in the future," said Undersecretary Bengt Save-Soderbergh of the Foreign Ministry's aid section.

The United Nations has called an extra session in May to discuss Africa's problems and a Swedish delegation led by Development Aid Minister Lena Hjelm-Wallen will participate.

Demands

"South Africa's aggression against its neighbors and its policy of oppression inside its own borders make demands on aid. This involves those who are affected inside South Africa, the organizations that are fighting against apartheid and the countries around South Africa," said Bengt Save-Soderbergh.

Between 40 and 45 percent of the bilateral aid in Sweden, or 2 billion kronor, goes to countries in southern Africa. And even though the situation has improved in some countries, they exist on such a small margin that what is assessed as noncatastrophic one day can become a catastrophe the next.

"At present four countries are in acute need of assistance. They are Ethiopia, Sudan, Mozambique and Angola. The situation is very dramatic in these countries," said Bengt Save-Soderbergh.

With regard to long-term aid to Ethiopia, the Swedish International Development Authority [SIDA] recommended 175 million kronor while the government wants to limit aid to 130 million. The government wants to keep a low profile because of the new so-called collectivization of rural areas.

Hesitant

"We are hesitant about helping to move those suffering from starvation around the country. We must believe that the aid will lead to progress and we reserve the right to see how political developments will affect Sweden's aid projects. But this does not mean we will back out of aid projects in Ethiopia."

Another aid project that came up was the very controversial Bai Bangh pulp and paper plant in Vietnam. A report was written recently about the conditions of forestry workers in Bai Bangh and the report is now being evaluated by SIDA.

6578
CSO: 3650/167

UNITA DELEGATION ENCOUNTERS HOSTILITY

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 23 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by David Jackson]

[Text]

A VISITING Unita delegation has returned home "shocked and astonished" after being hounded by radical student groups on two campuses.

But their shock has been tempered by their final appearance — at Stellenbosch University, where they were welcomed as heroes by about 800 students.

The demo-dogged Unita men were howled down at two universities (Wits and Natal) and hurriedly had to cancel a speaking engagement at a third (UCT), because of hostility from left-wing students.

Explanation

The three-man mission — organised by the Moderate Student Alliance — was to explain their guerrilla movement's liberation struggle against the MPLA government.

The Unita visitors were Brigadier Tito Chingunji, Unita's Permanent Secretary; Brigadier Kasitu Chindondo, the guerrilla group's Chief of Intelligence; and public relations officer George Muzangola.

They were prevented from speaking at all at Wits when militant students hijacked the meeting.

The next day in Maritzburg only a personal plea by university academics enabled their meeting to proceed, but the speakers were virtually shouted down.

The third meeting at UCT was cancelled for "security reasons" after being disrupted when radical students pulled down pictures.

Brigadier Chingunji told the Sunday Times: "All we were asking was a chance to put Unita's case. It's a measure of maturity and civilised behaviour in a society that one is able to debate different points of view.

"We thought we would find that here at the universities. Sadly it was not the case. We were shocked and astonished."

It was only at Stellenbosch that the men were made welcome. Their arrival was greeted by calls of "Viva Unita" and supportive banners.

To enthusiastic cheering and stamping of feet, the chairman of the Popular Student Alliance, Mr Nicholas Myburgh, made a scathing attack on Wits and UCT.

/9317
CSO: 3400/1939

UNITA'S CHINDONDO ON CUBAN REINFORCEMENTS TO FAPLA

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 Mar 86 p 17

[Article by Joao Santa Rita]

[Text]

A race against time is taking place in southern Angola as the Luanda Government prepares for a major offensive against Unita which, in turn, is waiting for much-needed American missiles.

Sources said the first "Tow" anti-tank and "Stinger" hand-held anti-aircraft missiles would reach Unita by mid-April. But a top Unita official, Brigadier Tito Chingunji, has refused to say when the missiles were expected to arrive in Angola.

Brigadier Chingunji, regarded as Unita's arms expert, said his men had the expertise to use the sophisticated American weapons.

He said: "Although American aid is on the way, it should be kept in mind that it is coming because Unita has the people and the ability to use it. Otherwise aid would never have been offered."

Unita's intelligence chief, Brigadier Kasito Chindondo, said a top Cuban officer, a General Ramirez, was already in Angola to prepare the offensive against Unita strongholds in the south-east.

A top Soviet general, Yuri Petrov, who masterminded the Cuban victory in Ethiopia against Somalia in 1978, is also understood to have paid a visit to Luanda earlier this month.

Brigadier Chindondo said Cuban reinforcements were being sent to Angola in preparation for the offensive, but he could not give precise numbers.

He said: "The Cuban government is now sending more black soldiers to Angola. That makes it difficult to assess the new arrivals as the black Cubans are put in Angolan units alongside Fapla soldiers."

Brigadier Chindondo said Swapo now had 7 000 troops in Angola. Its new headquarters — with two hospitals — were in Kabuta, in central Angola.

He also said the African National Congress had three battalions of about 300 men stationed in Malange, Dalatando and Huige.

/9317
CSO: 3400/1939

FRANCE PLANS TO OPEN EMBASSY IN GABORONE

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 17 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

GABORONE: The Department of External Affairs spokesman has confirmed press reports that France is to open an embassy in Botswana in the near future.

The spokesman, however, said in an interview that no date has been fixed for the opening of the French embassy.

He added that France has already established a trade office and consulate in Gaborone.

Foreign press reports quoted the French Foreign Minister as having said that his country will open an embassy in Botswana "in the very near future."

An official communique said France intended to demonstrate solidarity and its desire to strengthen the links with Botswana in a concrete fashion.

Reports quoted the communique as saying that Paris was concerned about the worsening situation in Southern Africa, notably the activities of South Africa against its neighbours.

"Among these neighbours, Botswana has always shown its attachment to democratic values and the most scrupulous respect for human rights, in spite of South Africa threats against its sovereignty," the communique added.

The decision to open an embassy in Botswana comes in the wake of an invitation to that end from the President Dr Masire when he paid an official visit to France in November 1982.

France is reported to have more embassies in the world than any other country. The Botswana legation will be its 154th.

Relations between France and Botswana at all levels - political, economic and co-operation - have been close, the report said.

BOPA

/9317
CSO: 3400/1532

CHINA'S ROLE IN NATION BUILDING PRAISED

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 24 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

GABORONE: The President, Dr Quett Masire has stated that Botswana believed that Chinese assistance plays an important role in its endeavours towards nation-building and the safeguarding of national independence.

Receiving letters of credence from the new Chinese Ambassador to Botswana, Mr Zhang Dezheng at the State House last week, Dr Masire said: "China is a true champion of causes of national liberation and economic inter-dependence in Southern Africa."

He said Botswana has noted with satisfaction the role China played in assisting the liberation movements that led to the independence of Mozambique and Zimbabwe in particular. He added that the independence of these countries substantialy strengthened Botswana's own independence.

Dr Masire pointed out that Botswana was looking forward to the day when Nambia will be freed from the shackles of colonialism and South Africa accedes to majority rule.

"We are aware and deeply appreciative of the role China is playing to assist towards a negotiated settlement of the problems of these troubled neighbours of Botswana. When these remaining vistages of colonialism in this region are removed our independence will even be more secure," intimated the President.

Dr Masire commented that Botswana and China enjoy excellent relations of friendship and called upon Mr Dezheng to feel free to call on Government officials for consultations and assistance in his important task of promoting relations between the two countries.

He expressed gratitude for the flow of assistance in agriculture, transport communications that China has rendered to Botswana.

Presenting his credentials the Chinese Ambassador, Mr Zhang Dezheng noted that at present Botswana was faced with the grave threat of aggression, intervention and sabotage from South Africa, saying the Chinese Government and people, "as

always, stand firmly by the Botswana people and support the Government and people in their just struggle against aggression and to safeguard national independence and sovereignty."

Batswana, said Mr Dezheng, are industrious and full of pioneering spirit and have achieved great successes by pursuing policies suited to its national conditions as well as working for the development of the national economy and improvement of people's living standards.

He said in international affairs Botswana has pursued a policy of non-alignment, opposed imperialism, colonialism and racism, supported the struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid and of the people of Namibia for national independence.

Ambassador Dezheng described Botswana as standing for the restructuring of the old international economic order and strengthening South-North co-operation as well as actively working for the promotion of economic co-operation in the African continent, Southern Africa in particular.

He spoke of how the Chinese people and leaders valued relations with Botswana and pointed out that since Dr Masire's visits to China co-operation between the two countries has progressed and expanded. ***BOPA***

/9317
CSO: 3400/1531

MULTI-BILLION-PULA PROJECT TO TAP OKAVANGO

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 17 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by Kwapeng Modikwe]

[Text]

PARLIAMENT: The Government is gearing for a multi-billion Pula project of pumping the Okavango and Chobe waters to eastern Botswana.

This project is contained in the estimates proposals of the Ministry of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs which were presented by the Vice President and Minister of Finance and Development Planning, Mr Peter Mmusi in Parliament last week.

The Ministry of Mineral Resources and Water Affair has requested P45 661 000 for the development proposals covering headquarters along with those Departments of Water Affairs, Geological Survey, Electrical and Mines.

Mr Mmusi explained that the project was being considered because indications from the Viak Study which was carried out in 1983, was that there could be insufficient water to satisfy the major demand centres in eastern Botswana by the turn of the century.

He said, the Okavango and Chobe river systems offered good prospects for meeting that shortfall in water supply.

He however, explained, before such a major water transfer could be implemented, a lot of detailed studies, investigations and design works were required.

He explained that P165 000 was sought to undertake preliminary assessment of the technical and economic feasibility of transferring water from those major water systems to the eastern side of the country.

The time for undertaking the preliminary studies and implementation of the project, he said could be of the order of 20 years.

Mr Mmusi also talked about the Okavango/Chobe Development saying it was a project with two main components. Those components are the Southern Okavango Integrated Water Development and the Thaoge River Restoration Project.

He explained that, for the first component, study would

examine the possibilities of developing the water resources of the Southern Okavango Delta for irrigated agriculture and other uses.

Work on that project, he said started last month and care would be taken to minimise the impact of any major developments on the ecosystem of the Delta.

The Vice President explained that the second component (Thaoge restoration project) was aimed at improving the flood flow of Thaoge River for traditional water users particularly for the flood recession farming in the dry ranches between Gomare and Gandukone.

In addition to increased arable production, Mr Mmusi said it was hoped that cattle watering points could be used and more widely distributed to help control overgrazing.

He said, a survey and design of the project had been finalised and that work on the excavation of the channel had already started. It was hoped that the project would play a key role in improving food production in the country, he said.

Minister Mmusi also sought a provision of P50 000 to investigate the feasibility of re-use of treated final sewerage for either direct use as drinking water or to replace portable water for second grade use such as irrigation, industrial or other uses.

He said water re-use through treatment and re-cycling would possibly maximise the benefits from the prolonged lifespan of the available resources. ***BOPA***

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CSO: 3400/1531

MANKGATAU INSTALLED AS SENIOR TRIBAL AUTHORITY

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 24 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by Mmuso Tidlmane]

[Text] Tsienyane--Gonkgang Mankgatau has been installed Boteti West Senior Subordinate Tribal Authority. He is to be assisted by Motlhaphing Nengu as the sub-tribal authority. The confirmation was made at kgotla meeting held in Tsienyane village last week.

Speaking at the installation ceremony, the Bangwato Tribal Authority, Mr Mokgacha Mokgadi, said tribal leadership was a challenging profession which required a high degree of honesty and dedication.

The Boteti West subordinate tribal authority seat fell vacant after the death of Kgosietsile Majashango who died early last year after a long illness.

The Bangwato Tribal Authority explained that the position required a person of sound judgement coupled with natural intelligence to understand and interpret government policies without any problems.

He warned that jealousy and discrimination were enemies of developing societies, especially if they were practised by leaders.

Mr Mokgadi cautioned that civil cases were complicated and the methods of trying them should not be similar to one adopted when considering criminal cases.

He called on both the chief and his subordinate to view stocktheft with the seriousness they deserve since they are on the increase.

He told the gathering that the Customary Court of Appeal was now operational and that any case which is difficult for lower courts should be channelled to the Court of Appeal.--BOPA

/9317
CSO: 3400/1532

AIR BOTSWANA INCURS LOSS OF TWO MILLION PULA IN FISCAL 1985

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 14 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] Parliament--The Vice-President and Minister of Finance and Development Planning, Mr Peter Mmusi last week disclosed that Air Botswana incurred a loss of over P2 million during the fiscal year 1985.

Answering a question from the Member of Parliament for Lobatse/Barolong, Mr Ronald Sebego, Mr Mmusi told the House that audited accounts for the financial year ended June 30, 1984, of Air Botswana show an accumulated loss of P411 926.

He said the accumulated loss covers the period from the inception of Air Botswana as fully-fledged passenger carrying airline in September 1981 to the end of June 1984.

During the fiscal year 1985, the financial position of Air Botswana worsened substantially and the audited accounts show a loss of P2 223 307, he said.

Mr Sebego had asked the Minister to account for Air Botswana's financial losses from 1981 to 1985 and to say whether he would deny that part of the losses were due to mismanagement.

Mr Mmusi said there were a number of reasons which had a detrimental impact on Air Botswana's financial position.

He had earlier pointed out that the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC) took over in 1981 from Air Services Botswana, a private company, which had decided to close down the airline operations owing to continuing losses.

Mr Mmusi said it must be emphasised that approximately 65 percent of all costs to Air Botswana are based in United States Dollars, Pounds Sterling, Dutch Guilders and Marks.

He said spare parts for engines and airframes and specialised tools are manufactured in the home of these currencies.

Mr Mmusi stated that from July 1, 1984 to December 1985, the depreciation of the Pula against western currencies has increased the cost of US dollars based spares and maintenance materials by 70 percent and pounds sterling and Deutsche Marks cost by 81 percent.

He said maintenance expense increased from P720 000 in fiscal 1984 to P2 million in fiscal 1985. Mr Mmusi added that maintenance, aviation fuel and oil expenses totaling P3,4 million were 47 percent of the operating costs and consumed 60 percent of operating revenue.

He said in December 1984 a new Dornier 228-100 aircraft was added to the Air Botswana fleet to develop the domestic route network with more frequent service. The added expense, he added, is reflected in the 1985 accounts.

Mr Mmusi said the F27 aircraft are relatively old and require more maintenance than new aircraft.

He said a technical fault on one of the F27 aircraft contributed substantially to additional repair, maintenance and aircraft-hire cost in fiscal year 1985.

Mr Mmusi said the airline has not been able to counter increased costs of operation by proportionately raising the air fares. He stated that increase by 12 and 15 percent respectively in the recent past were not sufficient to wipe out the losses adding that further increases will have to be considered.

"Although there will always be room for management improvements, it would not be fair to say that the financial performance of Air Botswana is a result of mismanagement," he said.--BOPA

/9317
CSO: 3400/1532

SWEDES CONSIDER AID CUT DUE TO FORCED RESETTLEMENTS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 Mar 86 p 6

[Article by Kaa Eneberg]

[Text] The Swedish government and the Swedish International Development Authority, SIDA, are considering further cuts in agricultural aid to Ethiopia. There have long been major doubts about the massive collectivization efforts in that country.

These doubts have been heightened by reports of a rapidly executed forced resettlement of close to 700,000 people in Arsi province where Swedish efforts have been concentrated for 20 years.

Undersecretary Bengt Save-Soderbergh will soon go to Ethiopia to look at conditions there. In its January budget proposal the government underlined its doubts about Ethiopia's agricultural policy by not increasing agricultural appropriations.

The aid agency SIDA recommended a higher amount last year but changed its mind after making a thorough study of the country before Christmas. Last weekend they received alarming reports that 75 percent of a forced resettlement of 1 million farmers in Arsi to collective villages had already been completed.

Bitter Situation

The idea of moving farmers who cultivate their land on traditional scattered plots to collective villages was presented during the so-called program talks in January.

"This is a very bitter situation. Swedish agricultural efforts in Ethiopia have always been aimed at poor farmers with the idea of improving farming methods and increasing production. We do not want Swedish money to be involved in forcibly putting people into collectives that we think will lead to a stagnation in production instead. There are many indications that these collectives will produce only enough for their own consumption."

So said Lars Leander, agronomist and SIDA agricultural expert. Twenty years ago he was one of the people who started the Swedish pioneer effort in agriculture that is now known as ARDU, the Arsi Rural Development Unit.

In the 1960's during Emperor Haile Selassie's reign, Ethiopia became the first country to receive Swedish aid. Next year's budget proposal calls for maintaining aid to that country at 130 million kronor. Ethiopia, which is one of the poorest countries in the world, receives comparatively little foreign aid--only $7 per capita compared to the average of $20 for other impoverished countries. The Marxist Mengistu regime has few helpers outside the East bloc. When Haile Selassie fell the United States pulled out.

But Sweden's aid relations with Ethiopia have long been strained. Save-Soderbergh's predecessor as undersecretary, Gosta Edgren, objected earlier to Ethiopia's agricultural policy. It was stated in an agreement that continued Swedish aid to agriculture was contingent upon agricultural developments in Ethiopia. There have long been objections to the fact that Ethiopia was so onesided in supporting cooperative efforts with advice and credit. Setting grain prices at a level that was too low also robbed farmers of any incentive to raise grain for sale. Private buyers were also banned, a move that benefited big state monopoly purchasers.

Although the Swedish efforts are not directly affected by the big resettlements of people from the starving provinces of Tigre and Wollow, they form part of the overall picture of Ethiopia and increase doubts about the regime.

Both the government and SIDA question this policy because it enables the government to disperse unruly groups of people. This is true even if it is necessary to move them from overcultivated fields that cannot support them.

This year 30 million kronor in Swedish aid is earmarked for agricultural efforts in Ethiopia. At first SIDA was expecting an increase to 40 million, but now the aid will probably be cut instead to 20 million kronor.

6578
CSO: 3650/167

SUCCESSES OF ERITREAN GUERRILLA RELIEF EFFORTS DESCRIBED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 28 Mar 86 p 14

[Article by Ulrich Glauber: "Too Many Bombs, Too Little Wheat--Liberation Movement Fights Against the Consequences of Drought and of Government Army Attacks"]

[Text] Nafka, March--The drought is over in Eritrea, the Ethiopian civil war province. But the first rain after 5 years of drought really was only a drop in the bucket. The long drought and, even more so, a quarter of a century of the war of independence have left deep marks on the former Ethiopian province. At least, no one needs to starve to death any longer in the areas under the control of the Eritrean People's Liberation Movement (EPLF). The Aid Organization of Eritrea (ERA), a self-aid outfit which, for instance, receives donations from the Cologne Eritrea Aid Organization, has established an effective system for distributing foreign food donations.

In the small mountain village of Bakla, the people are pessimistic. "There has been a lack of seed, and the oxen for plowing have almost all died of thirst," says agricultural expert Semere. The EPLF had sent him to the 2,500 peasants of Bakla living dispersed over a wooded hilly plateau in huts made of skins and leaves. "Those who were unable to cultivate anything last summer are having a hard time," Semere says, "but we are now gathering any kind of seed we can scratch together and storing it for the next sowing." Until the fields can be tended again, the villagers build terraces with stone walls to cope with the soil erosion on the slopes of the 2,500-meter-high mountains. In addition the peasants have planted pine and eucalyptus trees whose roots later are to give a hold to the fragile soil.

"The year of 1985 was better than the previous years, but we will still need a lot of aid," says Heruyi Asgedom, head of the EPLF Agricultural Department. In a number of areas of Eritrea there either was no rain at all last fall, or the rain came too late. Elsewhere precipitation occurred too soon, with the swelling rivers destroying the still unfinished dams which actually had been intended for channeling the water to the fields. The Eritreans lack the machinery for building support basins and irrigation systems. And the peasants after the drought often lacked the physical strength to get the canals started on their own with the tools procured by the ERA. Moreover, the seed from abroad often arrived too late.

The EPLF agricultural planners refused to be discouraged by all these problems. This year they brought the seed grain to the villages as early as January in order to be sure to be able to distribute it in early summer. In addition, almost a million Deutsche marks were spent for buying oxen in Kenya and Sudan and distributed to the peasants.

All efforts notwithstanding, Eritreans this year too will have to import more than 60 percent of their food. The trucks of their aid organization are ever present at night on the sandy tracks and dried-out riverbeds of the country. Columns of 10 to 12 vehicles commute constantly between the harbor of Port Sudan, the warehouses on the Sudanese border, and the interior of Eritrea. Under the cover of darkness, more than 200 modern transports bring wheat, cooking oil, beans, lentils, and powdered milk to the EPLF areas, which because of the war cannot be reached from the Addis Ababa controlled Eritrean harbors of Assab and Massawa. During the day the trucks are hidden from the MIG fighter planes of the Ethiopian Air Force by the ample branches of acacias, unless they happen to be worked on for maintenance in EPLF-owned workshops in Sudan.

Since last fall, when Ethiopian bombers also began to attack the ERA distribution centers, the peasants and nomads have had to fetch their rations at night. One of these 31 points of distribution is Wina, a bunker-type natural rock structure built half into the mountain. Under the light of a couple of petroleum lamps, the wheat is poured out and measured--1 pound of wheat (equaling 1,500 calories) per person per day. A canister of cooking oil is added once a month. If there is enough, the people in addition get beans, powdered milk, and biscuits for their children, but only if they are sedentary peasants. The ERA thus wants to induce the nomads and shepherds to settle permanently and adopt new agricultural methods.

In the open, the women are squatting around a camp fire, with their typical nose rings and wrapped into checkered blankets, waiting for their husbands to haul the sacks of corn away. Then they jointly place the load on a donkey. Whoever does not have an animal lets the wheat stand there for a few days. Those poor people then divide their rations and gradually haul them home on their backs.

Every 5th person of the 3.5 million Eritreans is utterly and permanently dependent on such food aid. The next starvation disaster can be predicted with certainty. "We have tried for years to switch from pure emergency aid to reconstruction," says ERA Chairman Paulos T. Giorgis. The main obstacle, he thinks, is the constant conflict with the Ethiopian regime; "the cause of the drought is not nature but the war."

What the Eritrean is talking about is the strategy of the Mengistu regime which systematically attacks the civilian population of the civil war province in order to deprive the EPLF of its base. The bomb attacks of those in power in Addis Ababa evidently are directed primarily at peasant villages, nomad tents, and refugee camps. Though the harvest destruction by napalm has not reached the extent the EPLF people were afraid it would, the

strategy of the Ethiopians has had its effect. A total of 100,000 Eritreans lost their homeland last year. Almost a quarter of the population has fled abroad.

Yet the morale of the EPLF is unbroken. In the trenches of the front near Nafka, where the lines of the People's Liberation Front are only 40 meters from the positions of the government army, a mood of confidence reigns. "We are fighting for our country and our revolution, whereas the Ethiopian soldiers are fighting for a foreign cause," says an armed young man in answer to the question as to how the independence movement has managed to hold out for more than 25 years in the fight against the biggest and best armed army of black Africa. The volunteer fighters of the EPLF--30 percent women--think the right is on their side. In the Eritrea question, the regime in Addis Ababa, supported by the Soviet Union, after the 1974 revolution because the heir of its feudal predecessor; Emperor Haile Selassie had annexed the former Italian colony in 1962, violating with impunity a UN resolution which had granted Eritrea limited autonomy in a federation with Ethiopia.

On the other side of the trenches, the bodies of Ethiopian soldiers lie in no-man's-land. The soldiers died months ago. At that time the EPLF halted an offensive at the Nakfa front with which the Ethiopians had intended to eradicate the "bandits" in their bastions. Previously the EPLF had captured the provincial town of Barentu, a support base of the enemy with big supplies of weapons and ammunition. Lacking foreign support, the resistance fighters are waging their war exclusively with captured military equipment of mostly foreign origin. As it concedes itself, the EPLF cannot hold on to the towns of Eritrea. Retreating from Barentu, it also lost large parts of the fertile lowland of the Province of Barka. In the process, Tesseney with the former Italian cotton plantation of Ali Giddir fell into the Ehtiopians' hands. The Liberation Front with great effort had repaid the irrigation system of the installation and planted millet on the 8,000-hectare area. "Mengistu is bound to give the harvest to his soldiers" is the resigned comment of EPLF agricultural expert Asgodom.

Facing an army which reportedly has recieved 8 billion Deutsche marks' worth of weapons from the Soviet Union, the EPLF is trying to offset its inferiority with guerrilla tactics. In mid-January the Liberation Front reported that a commando had destroyed more than 40 fighter planes in a raid on the military airport of the provincial capital of Asmara. According to the BBC, that was one-third of the Ethiopian Air Force.

The Ethiopians react to such EPLF successes with increased pressure on the population of the areas controlled by them. Thus, according to information from the resistance fighters, men of the larger towns able to carry arms have been forbidden to leave the places where they live. They are faced with being drafted into the Ethiopian Army. The EPLF is pleased at this, stating: "Now they will have to opt for the Ethiopians or for us; there is no third way any longer." Through repression, Addis Ababa is only driving the Eritrean population into the arms of the Liberation Movement. Possibly Mengistu's people have understood this connection; at any rate, according to the EPLF,

Eritrea is much less affected by forcible resettlements into the south of Ethiopia than are the neighboring areas of unrest of Tigray and Wollo.

Freedom of movement in the country of retreat of Sudan and close contact with the Eritreans in the Sudanese refugee camps are of great importance to the EPLF. Actually the 500,000 refugees in the starvation camps are supposed to return to their homeland. That has been almost impossible so far, however. The Eritreans are glad to have offered as many as about 120,000 of those expelled an alternative to leaving the country by establishing resettlement camps.

There continues to be some dire want. This is being felt primarily by the children, all the care notwithstanding. Three thousand of them, including 40 percent war orphans, live in the largest school of the country, the "Zero School." There is a lack of clothing in this boarding school, and not every child even has its own blanket to cover it in the sometimes very cool mountain nights. Classes of more than 50 students are held in the open, under trees. The youngsters sit on rocks, four of them sharing a textbook. "The worst thing is the planes," complains school director Kaleab. "It is just not possible to calm the children down when the MIG's have flown over their heads. Many of them have had to look on as their parents were killed by Ethiopian bombs."

8790/9738
CSO: 3420/24

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO ASSASSINATE DISSIDENTS ABROAD OUTLINED

London TALKING DRUMS in English 17 Mar 86 pp 9-10

[Text] The PNDC accepts abduction, murder and executions as extensions of its policies by other means. Chairman Rawlings presides over a particularly violent regime. To anyone familiar with his views and the ideas of the key people around him, this should come as no surprise. They all believe in the use of violence as a means of coercive control.

Before he seized power in December 1981, Rawlings often stressed the need for any government he led to kill as many Ghanaians as possible; not only to rid the regime of actual and potential critics but also to create a climate of fear which would allow him and his cronies to do as they pleased.

Therefore when he overthrew the civilian government on 31st December 1981, one of his first actions was to set up special squads under the late Warrant Officer Kingston of Airforce Station, Accra, to eliminate Military Intelligence personnel, soldiers and civilians suspected of being "enemies of the Revolution" and people unfortunate enough to have incurred Rawlings and some of his powerful supporters displeasure. In the early days of the Rawlings revolution, the order "Send him to Kingston" was the pre-arranged signal that whoever it was, was to be sent to the airforce base to be killed by Kingston's men.

It was one of these squads under a Sergeant-Major Konu of the Recce Regiment which went to the headquarters of the First Brigade to abduct Major Nangtogma, kill him in an armoured car and then dump his body on the road to the Airforce Station, Accra, from Arakan Barracks. Until his own rather mysterious death, said to be at the hands of other soldiers, Kingston was the chief executioner of the PNDC.

This article is not designed to call names (that will come much later) but to describe in general terms the reign of terror which Rawlings and his minions have created in Ghana.

After Kingston's death, the special squads were reorganised and placed directly under the Operations Branch of the PNDC Headquarters. Extra men and women were recruited from the Armed Forces, Police and the civilian population. The criterion for admission into these groups was proven loyalty to Rawlings and Kojo Tsikata. There were indications to suggest that only Rawlings, Kojo Tsikata and the Chief Operations Officer at the PNDC Headquarters, could authorise their "special operations".

Armed with their AK 47s and machine pistols, they killed and spread fear throughout the country. It was from one of such groups that the men who kidnapped and killed the judges and the retired Army officer came. They could be easily identified as they made no attempt to hide what they were doing.

This was soon to change. Following the enquiry which probed the abduction and murder of the judges, the activities of these groups came under increasing criticism; especially from the group of Ghanaians who had been invited by Rawlings to join his government to save the sinking ship. They argued that the PNDC would not obtain the assistance it urgently required then if the murder squads were allowed to operate so openly. There were also signs that members of these squads were not as professional as their bosses desired. Their handiwork was easily traceable. Rawlings and his cronies therefore decided that:

●The level of activity of the groups should be scaled down until the deal with

the IMF was secured.

●Members of these groups should be retrained locally and in such places as Libya and Bulgaria.

●Foreign assistance should be sought from East Germany and Libya in the running of their operations.

●Until further notice, the PNDC was to make friendly noises about reconciliation and the need for discipline; and be prepared to sacrifice a few of their own zealots, if the need arose.

●The new operational policy of the special squads should be to concentrate operations against the less well known rather than prominent Ghanaians; therefore unlikely to attract attention and create the kind of problems which might prejudice the PNDC's ability to obtain the assistance it required. It was however obvious that if Rawlings and his cronies were sufficiently riled, they could order the murder of any prominent Ghanaian they perceived to be a threat.

During the period of reduced activity, Rawlings and his gang intensified their efforts to recruit foreign gunmen to deal with Ghanaian dissidents abroad. But approaches to the Libyans, Cubans, East Germans and other countries in the Soviet Bloc did not appear to yield the results desired; presumably because they were not prepared to do the regime's dirty work for them. The East Germans and the Bulgarians, however, agreed to train and help advise the security machine Kojo Tsikata was creating at considerable financial cost to the country. But action by the PNDC against dissidents abroad should not be entirely discounted. It could come if the regime is under considerable internal pressure; and might well be carried out either by trained Ghanaians or hired guns.

Once the deal with the IMF was secured and the Paris Club committed itself to assist Ghana, the abductions and killings resumed with ferocious intensity. The victims were seized at night or at places where their seizure would not excite comment. They were taken to one of the designated execution grounds scattered all over the country and simply done away with. Or they were abducted from the prisons or their places of detention and shot. Lately the modus operandi seems to be to take the unfortunate man or woman to a remote place in Ghana, kill them and leave them to rot there.

To deflect undue attention from the activities of the murder squads, the PNDC would, from time to time, announce the death penalty for Ghanaians for serious criminal offences. This was usually followed by reports of attempted coups, the arrest and the execution of suspects. What the outsider did not know was that these announcements were often the signal for the kidnapping and the murder of Ghanaians targeted by the security machine. The purpose of these announcements had a two-fold objective: to create the feeling abroad that executions and murder were the norm in Ghana; and to discount reports of secret killings so as to prevent a noisy foreign press from poking its nose into what was happening in Ghana.

Paid apologists of the PNDC were then used to peddle the line that executions were the sort of thing to be expected in Ghana anyway.

Because Rawlings and his cronies have sanctioned kidnappings and executions, some of their more powerful supporters have taken the law into their hands. Soldiers who see their superiors routinely despatch Ghanaians to the world beyond, have also done so; knowing that if they are lucky and have the right connections, they will not be punished. Of course occasionally a few have been sacrificed for public relations purposes.

Estimates of the numbers of Ghanaians who have been killed vary. One puts the figure at 3,000 but I prefer to accept the figure of 5,000 which a reliable source has claimed as a realistic toll. On the basis of what is happening, this figure could be a conservative estimate.

Various places all over Ghana have been identified as locations for executions. A sample of some of these places in the Accra area is set out below to give readers an indication of the extent to which the Rawlings regime is prepared to go to kill its own people:

●Airforce Station.

●Taungup Range — behind Burma Camp.

●The vast area between the Airforce Station and Arakan Barracks.

●The area behind Recce Regiment.

●The Labadi and Black Star Square beaches.

●Michel Camp.

There are reports too suggesting that secret killings also take place in the Castle, Osu.

Very often those who are killed are taken to be buried in prison cemeteries. For the Accra area, Nsawam Prison cemetery is a convenient location. In the early days of the "revolution", the dead were sometimes buried behind the Military Hospital. When tongues started

to wag, this was stopped. Many were dumped into the sea but the Atlantic Ocean had a way of returning bodies to the shore. Some were also caught in fishermen's nets.

When this happened, the dead were taken to mortuaries and certified as drowned. The families were notified to collect the bodies. If this was not possible, the mortuaries were simply ordered to make arrangements for burial. Recently the victims have just been left in some remote bush to rot.

The sad part of this whole affair is that there are families in Ghana today who do not know where their relations are, believing that once they do not see them, they have fled the country. They will only know the truth when the pervasive climate of fear is removed. There seems to be a conspiracy of silence, for the moment, in the country.

But there is another shameful aspect to this situation. It is the role of the diplomats representing the donor countries. It is one of acquiesence. Some have even been reported as claiming that the repression is the only way of getting the country going. This attitude is an intriguing echo of the kind of support Obote received when he accepted to work the IMF Model, even when it was evident that he was massacring his countrymen. It was only when he fell that the gruesome stories which had floated around for some time and which diplomats had described as exaggerated, began to emerge.

Which leaves one wondering whether the moral posturings of accredited representatives of the same countries elsewhere have no relevance in Ghana or in Africa. The answer must be yes if a comment attributed to a British diplomat in Uganda is true, that "This is Africa. Things are different. You cannot apply human rights standards here." But then they never learn. Just as Obote failed to create prosperity in an atmosphere of fear, so has the PNDC. Meanwhile the silly charade in which Rawlings and his blood-thirsty crew are praised as reformers, goes on. It has gone on for so long that people you expect to know better are beginning to believe this obvious propaganda.

The abductions and killings, however, do not stop; and the PNDC gets away with them. It has been lucky in this sense. But this cannot hold forever. One of these days its goons are going to make the sort of mistake which will blow the whole lid off its darker sides. And who knows what will happen? Perhaps then the donor countries may realise that they are providing the regime with blood money and be persuaded to condemn its actions at least.

/12851
CSO: 3400/1524

DISTRICT COUNCILS ESTABLISHED IN CONAKRY

AB142125 Paris AFP in French 1232 GMT 14 Apr 86

[Text] Conakry, 13 April [date as received] (AFP)--The elections which ended on Sunday in Conakry and which enabled the establishment of district councils are a demonstration of the desire of General Lansana Conte's government to win the bet for the advent of a democratic life in Guinea, to institute structures that are truly representative in the country, and to move on to the phase of administrative decentralization.

Aware of the importance of the issue, the Guinean authorities did not leave any stone unturned to ensure the fairness and the democratic character and the success of these elections, the first to be held by these authorities since they came to power in April 1984. This was why the Guinean head of state, General Lansana Conte took the lead and personally directed the elections in Conakry, a city he regards as "the nest of all the country's irrelevant [faux] problems."

According to President Conte, what is most important is the efficiency, the moral conduct, and the availability of the district council members who are to "serve as the links between the citizens and the authorities."

The fact that only family heads who had paid up their taxes were eligible to vote and that candidates for membership must know how to read and write at least in Arabic or in French and must be able to present a written development plan for his district, were some of the pecularities of last Sunday's elections.

Official sources have pointed out in Conakry that such yardsticks would prevent the victory of "a negative majority made up of mostly jobless people and people who are pretending to be unemployed." Moreover, it would discourage the repeat of some of the practices under the former regime of President Ahmed Sekou Toure during elections within the PRL (local revolutionary authorities) which were the basic organs of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG--now dissolved.)

The district councils which are to be set up throughout the country, have been planned by the Guinean authorities with the assistance of French administrators among whom was a former minister, Rene Lenoir. The district councils are decision-making and management units which will enable a greater

participation of the people in the running of the districts public affairs. Each district council is made up of six elected members and is assisted by a 4-man council of wise men designated by the Imam. Elsewhere, official sources pointed out in Conakry that the district council members are "veritable agents of economic, social and cultural development in the districts; they are administrators who must avoid being misled into sterile theory and palavers, or who will be content with routine work." They must also be conscious of the security of the citizens and their property.

If the district councils set up last Sunday work out well, observers said in Conakry, they will constitute the first step towards the forthcoming replacement of the subprefects in Guinea by rural development committees. In any case, the Guinean authorities have a lot to do to put back on the path of democracy a country that is still in a transitional period.

/12913
CSO: 3400/1513

BRIEFS

OPPOSITION DEMANDS RELEASE OF POLITICIANS--Monrovia, 14 April (AFP)--More than 200 members of Liberia's opposition United People's Party (UPP), including most of its leadership, have been arrested, the independent SUNTIMES newspaper said Monday. The newspaper said UPP Deputy National Chairman Blamo Nelson, Secretary General Alphonso Kawah and a local chairman for Montserrado County, Nathaniel Beh, were among those arrested Sunday during a political rally in a Monrovia suburb. The executive committee of the four-party opposition coalition said it viewed with "grave dismay" the arrests and demanded "the immediate release" of the detainees. The UPP was the last political grouping to join the coalition, a shaky alliance which sought to "speak with a unified voice" in ensuring the continued existence of multi-party democracy in the West African country. Other parties in the coalition are the Liberian Action Party (LAP), the Unity Party (UP) and the Liberian Unification Party (LUP). The reported arrests came in the wake of growing social discontent, with a teachers' strike that erupted into violence last month, and increased calls by opposition politicians to hold fresh elections and respect the Constitution. [Excerpt] [Paris AFP in English 1546 GMT 14 Apr 86 AB] /12913

CSO: 3400/1516

PARLIAMENT DISCUSSES PUBLIC FUND ABUSE, CORRECTIVE MEASURES

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 3 Apr 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

MINISTERS on Tuesday evening joined MPs in supporting the motion on the report presented by the Public Accounts Committee chairman, Mr. Chiutsi Phiri, who is also Nominated MP from Mchinji.

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Chimwemwe Hara, told the National Assembly that cases of misappropriations have come to light through the Public Accounts Committee.

The Minister said he felt that some improvement could be made with more stringent control.

Mr. Hara said proper use of Government finances cannot be the responsibility of controlling officers only. Everybody from messenger, driver, carpenter to the most senior officer is responsible, he added.

The Minister expressed displeasure that it had been noted that in some ministries employees who had stopped working two or more years ago still had their names on the payroll.

He said, "We cannot afford to ignore the value of the four cornerstones of Unity, Loyalty, Obedience and Discipline on which the Party and Government are founded. Once we do this we will be helping the Government to use funds for the purpose for which they are intended.

The Minister without Portfolio, Mr. Robson Chirwa also spoke on the motion saying that as this country had been able to achieve food self sufficiency, it will also wipe out excesses of expenditure if all the corrective measures introduced are put to proper use by controlling officers.

Mr. Chirwa said the training of accounts assistants on the proper accounting procedures and adhering on Treasury instructions by civil servants would help much in controlling expenditure.

He noted that it had been the junior level officers and not the top that had been involved in the mismanagement of the finances because the junior ranks were still learning.

Mr. Chirwa said he had been pleased that the Ministry of Finance was taking a number of measures to minimise losses and misappropriations of public funds.

These include:

- The encouragement of ministries and departments to review and strengthen internal checks so that individual officers are not able to abuse the system of revenue collection, in case of salaries, to insert non-existent employees on the payroll.
- Advise ministries and departments to review, evaluate and improve internal control systems. This is intended to ensure that officers perform duties to prescribed and established procedure and practices and that deviations are noted and corrected in time.
- Encourage ministries and departments to roster staff members regularly, especially those on cash duties. This will enable mistakes, irregular and unacceptable tendencies to be highlighted in time.
- Remind ministries and departments to strengthen and increase supervisory checks over staff. This will help in keeping officers, 'on their toes' and reduce the likelihood of abuse of system.
- Solicit the efforts of the Solicitor General and Secretary for Justice every time irregular practices are uncovered, in addition to the effort of the police. This will ensure exploration of all possible avenues for redress.
- Accelerate the training of clerical accounts staff on the virtues of proper accountability and its role in economic development under the wise and dynamic leadership of His Excellency the Life President.

The Minister of Health, Mr. L. Chimango, thanked and congratulated the Life President for establishing an incorruptible civil service and Government.

The minister gave the congratulations in support of the motion on public accounts report presented last Thursday by the chairman of the Public Accounts Committee.

Mr. Chimango supported the strong measures Government had introduced during the 1983/84 years including strict control over government vehicles and the monitoring system.

He pointed out that the Life President was very serious about control of Government funds and vehicles, discipline of officials and drivers.

The Minister however, told the House that overall rise in prices on imported commodities, external transport, increases in salaries and maintenance and fuel rise costs were among the areas which contributed to the ministries and departments overexpenditures apart from other misdemeanours.

In his contribution on Tuesday the MP for Salima South, Mr. Andeleya Mganda noted that between 1983 and 1984 some K6,274.59 in respect of court deposit receipts was misappropriated by an accounts assistant working at the chief magistrate court in Blantyre.

"Although the convict is imprisoned no recoveries were made," the MP lamented.

Mr. Mganda also noted that some clerical officers working at the district commissioners' office in Lilongwe embezzled Party remittances totalling K14,865.43 in August 1985.

"The controlling officers are requested to monitor expenditure for efficient accountability of public monies and property," he said.

The MP also said that it was encouraging to note that the Audit Department is to train staff at an executive officer's grade.

"This training venture will help promote a supervisory machinery in the administration of public funds," he said.

/9317
CSO: 3400/1535

BRIEFS

FISH PRODUCTION, EXPORTS--The Minister of Forestry and Natural Resources, Mr Kapichira Banda, has said that Malawi's fish is in high demand in neighbouring countries. Out of the 60,000 tons of fish produced in Malawi each year, 6,000 tons are exported to other countries, mainly Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique and smaller quantities were exported to South Africa and Europe. Mr Kapichira Banda disclosed this in parliament when he answered a question raised by one member. "Our fish called 'Mbuna' are in high demand in America and Europe where they are exported alive to aquarium enthusiasts."--Mana [Text] [Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 4 Apr 86 p 3] /9317

PRESIDENT BANDA APPOINTS NEW MAYORS--His Excellency the Life President Ngwazi Dr H. Kamuzu Banda has appointed mayors and deputy mayors for the cities of Blantyre, Lilongwe and Mzuzu and the Municipality of Zomba. Announcing this on Tuesday, a spokesman of the Ministry of Local Government in Lilongwe said the appointment which is with effect from April 1, 1986, is as follows: Blantyre City Council, Councillor M.A. Kumicongwe--mayor and Cllr L.A. Jumbe--deputy mayor. For Lilongwe City Council, Cllr L.W.A. Phiri is mayor while Cllr M.S. Msosa is the deputy mayor. In Mzuzu the mayor is Councillor G.M. Phiri and Councillor A.Y. Chipeta has been appointed deputy mayor. Councillor F.S. Ndomondo is mayor for Zomba Municipal Council and Cllr J. Malunga is the deputy mayor. The appointments have been made by his Excellency the Life President following the elections which were held in March of this year, the announcement said.--Mana [Text] [Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 3 Apr 86 p 3] /9317

CSO: 3400/1536

WORLD BANK OFFICIAL OFFERS SUGGESTIONS ON ECONOMY

AB161535 Lagos Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 16 Apr 86

[Text] The World Bank has made a number of suggestions which it believes will help Nigeria in its economic recovery program. They include the reversal of the decline in her per capita income, and the evolvement of a solid industrial development growth policy, to ensure that the industrial capacity is fully utilized. The senior vice presdient of the bank, Mr Ernest Stern, made this known at a news conference in Lagos yesterday shortly before leaving for Washington. He said that price mechanisms must be used to advantage, to develop existing opportunities, and ensure that farmers and industrialists were given every incentive to increase productivity.

He said the World Bank was in support of government's extension services to farmers, including the provision of fertilizers, basic infrastructure, and rural development. Mr Stern said that in some cases greater research work was needed to ensure that the right technology is used. He expressed the hope that government would create room for the bank to assist in the country's industrilization process.

Asked whether the bank was not working in the interest of the IMF, Mr Stern said that both institutions had different mandates, and that credit financing by the bank in any country was not dependent on the IMF. Mr Stern said the bank will be ready to assist in the privatization process, if the government so desires.

The World Bank vice president was in the country for two days during which he had discussions with top government officials.

/12913
CSO: 3400/1514

BRIEFS

EEC FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE--Nigeria is to receive a special loan from the European Economic Community [EEC]. The loan, which is worth 150 million European Units of Account, attracts a 1 percent interest and is repayable over a period of 60 years. The minister of national planning, Dr Kalu Idika Kalu, said at a news conference in Lagos yesterday that under the Lome III Agreement, the EEC would spend 60 million European Units of Accounts as free grant on selected projects in Nigeria. Dr Kalu added that the European Investment Bank would make financial credits available to financial institutions in Nigeria for lending to farmers and commercial organizations. The minister announced that 200 Nigerians benefited under the EEC fellowship assistance for the 1985/86 academic session, while a number of countries which had not formalized economic cooperation agreement with Nigeria, were offering assistance in the form of training. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 17 Apr 86 AB] /12913

TRADITIONAL RULERS WARNED--Traditional rulers in boundary areas of Imo and Cross River States are to be held responsible for any further violence by their subjects. Governor Allison Madueke of Imo State and his Cross River State counterpart, Colonel Dan Archibong, gave the warning in Abak local government area in Cross River State during their tour of the boundary areas of the two states. The governors said that the new approach was adopted because according to them, no community would go to war without the consent of its ruler. The governors attributed the recent clashes in Abak to the ineffectiveness of the peace keeping committee in the area. They have therefore directed that a new committee be formed within one month. Meanwhile, the Cross River State government has said that it will regard as dereliction of duty, failure by any traditional ruler to prevent intercommunal disputes in his domain. Governor Archibong told the meeting of paramount rulers from Ogoja, Ekom, Obugh, and Ogodo in Calabar that it was their duty to ensure that peace and order prevailed in their areas. He said that communities which inflicted disaster on themselves should not expect compensation from the government. Col Archibong was addressing the traditional rulers on the renewed communal violence between (Obeh) and (Oki) communities over a piece of land. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 1500 GMT 13 Apr 86 AB] /12913

CSO: 3400/1514

INEQUITIES IN RICE DISTRIBUTION EXPOSED

Freetown WE YONE in English 13 Mar 86 p 4

[Text] Civil servants and other government workers in Bo are certainly not happy and the main cause of their unhappiness is the distribution (or rather, non-distribution) of rice in their area.

Actually, they had come to regard themselves as "the forgotten ones" for whom no provision is made, until a little bird from Freetown flew to Bo the other day with the widespread information that a monthly quota of 1,500 bags of rice goes through the Provincial Secretary's office every month for them.

According to LOOK GRON sources, the rice intended for these workers is sold to Lebanese and diamond dealers.

But isn't it rather enigmatic to conceive that all this has been happening without some of the senior civil servants knowing about this consignment?

How can they be said to know when their wives are to be seen queuing up for rice in the public market.

In fact, many civil servants and government employees have been known to abandon their offices and going in vain, in search of rice.

And rather painfully so many of them return home without a grain of rice, even though government has made provision for them.

How miserable some of the homes of civil servants can be, as they face their hungry wives and children can best be imagined.

If this is not known in the Provincial Secretary's office in Bo, what happens elsewhere--particularly in Freetown--is that the moment notification is given of the allocation of rice to a government department, staff and other workers are informed and given time to pay for their requirements.

The money is eventually collected and so that rice is paid for, even before it is supplied to the staff.

The excuse in Bo therefore cannot be that the rice arrives when workers have exhausted their salaries.

If they know that the rice is coming they will definitely save.

And if the worse comes to the worst, they will borrow money to pay for rice, rather than starve.

Even if individual workers resell their allocation, they will have the satisfaction of taking that decision themselves, and definitely they will do so for a reason--to get an extra two leones probably buy garri instead.

Now that the secret of the Bo allocations has come to light, the workers are determined never to be taken for such a big ride again.

The Provincial Secretary himself may not know all that is going on, under his very nose.

But at least the Senior District Officer, Bo, should know, because he gets 300 bags ouf ot he consignment for his staff, although the workers complain that the rice has never arrived at the District officer store.

The question now is: if better-placed civil servants suffer for want of rice, in spite of the special provision made for them by the government, how much more the ordinary family with no connections?

/9317
CSO: 3400/1534

MOMOH ORDERS PROBE INTO NINE INSTITUTIONS

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 27 Mar 86 pp 1, 9

[Text]

PRESIDENT Dr. J. S. Momoh has appointed a nineman committee to look into the management and operations of nine institutions to determine whether they have been operating in the best interest of the country.

The institutions concerned are: The National Diamond Mining Company, DIMINCO; Sierra Fisheries; Sierra Leone External Telecommunications Limited, SLET; Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board, SLPMB; Sierra Leone Ports Authority, SLPA; Mining and General Services; Sierra Leone Petroleum Refinery; Road Transport Corporation and Sierra Leone Airlines.

According to the State House release, the setting up of the Committee is in fulfilment of the President's pledge on assuming duties on November 28 last year.

The committee which will also look into the Institution's capacity to generate revenue and mange their resources properly and make appropriate recommendations to government is headed by Dr. J. H. Tommy, Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics, Njala Universityy College.

Other members of the Committee are Lawyer J. H. Smythe, B. H. R. Lawson, Ben Kamu, Brigadier Sam King, E. V. Carr, a Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce representative, F. A. Brimah representing the Sierra Leone Labour Congress, Colonel J. R. Macarthy representing the Sierra Leone Military Forces and Senior Assistant Secretary B. J. Serry who will serve as Secretary.

The release assures the public that arrangements, pertaining to the work of the Committee will be announced soon.

/9317
CSO: 3400/1534

BRIEFS

DUTCH NATIONALS DEPORTED--The Sierra Leonean government has ordered the immediate deportation of a Dutchman and woman for allegedly importing goods illegally into the country and smuggling out gold and diamonds, official sources in Freetown said. The sources said that the two, who they names as Max Van Herk and Mrs Nuhad Toplulos, had illegally imported vehicles and other goods into Sierra Leone and made false customs declarations. [Text] [London TALKING DRUMS in English 17 Mar 86 p 25] /12851

CSO: 3400/1524

UFM'S SABIITI DISCUSSES MUSEVENI, FUTURE

Amsterdam DE TIJD in Dutch 7 Mar 86 pp 30-31, 34

[Article and interview with UFM board member Jack Sabiiti by Jim Schilder at Sabiiti's apartment in Alkmaar, the Netherlands on the day of his return to Uganda: "A Refugee Has Just Returned: 'If We Don't Fight for Uganda, Who Will?'"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Recently, Jack Sabiiti of Uganda traded life in the Ugandan bush for several days in the front-to-back apartment in Alkmaar where his wife and four children have been waiting for 2 years for an appropriate moment to return. An interview with an ex-refugee on the resistance army, children soldiers, his mistrust of Museveni and the new government army. "Okello's army was disciplined too--until it came to power."

The terror of the government army under President Obote came to an end more quickly than Ugandan refugee Jack Sabiiti had dared to hope. Last June in DE TIJD, he said that he had no idea when he would be able to return to his country: "One day, two days, perhaps five years. It's not easy to liberate a country."

Less than 2 months later, Sabiiti was called back by the southern Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM), of which he is a board member. President Obote had been expelled by northern government troops under the leadership of Tito Okello, while the southern resistance army NRA was at the edge of the capital, Kampala, in order to exert pressure on the new leaders.

After 4 years of Obote, the political situation was thus very much in motion. Sabiiti first went to the Kenyan capital, Nairobi, for political talks, and then to "his" soldiers in the Ugandan bush--because Sabiiti is also a member of the Military High Command of the the UFM's Uganda People's Freedom Army.

In the meantime, Okello has been displaced by NRA leader Yoweri Museveni, and the question now is whether after years of rule by northern leaders, Uganda is getting into a similar situation: rule by exclusively southern functionaries, once again with the risk that part of the population will revolt and that the

years of independence, the country is now entering into a calmer, democratic era?

On the magazine shelf of the coffee table is a Wehkamp catalogue; next to it, on the top of the table, a stack of photographs taken last December of Sabiiti in army fatigues and of other members of the Uganda People's Freedom Army.

Sabiiti: "At the beginning of August, I received a telephone call from one of the leaders of the UFM with the request that I come to Nairobi as quickly as possible. We had to talk about our reaction to the Obote's departure, about the question of whether we would cooperate with the new Okello regime. The result was that one of the members of Okello's military council came from us.

"Museveni's NRA did not join in, but continued to negotiate from Nairobi. With distrust, but perhaps also in the realization that they were capable of ousting Okello, and that thus there was no direct need for cooperation. The point is that the NRA has a sort of program, an idea about how the country ought to be run. But every group has an idea like that, and that causes problems. How can you implement a policy if everyone thinks that he knows best?"

Informal attempts by the UFM to involve the NRA in the new government failed as well. By the end of January, fierce battles between the NRA and the government army had taken place from time to time. In addition, there were reports of brutality by government soldiers towards citizens: arson, robbery, rape and murder--as if nothing had changed. Eventually, Okello and his forces had to clear the way in Kampala for the NRA. Okello fled to the north while his soldiers beat a hasty retreat, plundering and murdering.

Mistrust

Although the new leader, Yoweri Museveni, and Sabiiti both come from the southwestern part of Uganda, they belong to different, overwhelmingly Catholic tribes. Museveni is from the Banyankole tribe, Sabiiti from the Bakiga. "But we can get along together," Sabiiti says. "Anyway, my wife is Bayankole."

Nevertheless, Sabiiti fosters some mistrust of Museveni. "After independence, Obote used the gun. Amin came and used the gun. Obote came back and ruled the country with the gun. Okello came did the same. Now Museveni has arrived--with the help of the gun."

Even though Museveni may have agreed to elections, the question of when they will take place remains for the time being unanswered. First, matters must be put in order, and that could take a couple of years. In fact, another couple of years of military rule is exactly the reason for Sabiiti's mistrust. "I am suspicious with regard to his actual intentions. If he has always said that he has fought against the rule of the gun, and for democracy, then let him show that.

"There is money for holding elections, and the people are there too. Why wait so long then? Four years, but even two years is too long. What are the other

military groups supposed to be doing all that time? What role has been set aside for the existing political parties?"

The "Best Army" in the World

At the same time, Sabiiti wonders whether Museveni's army will remain as disciplined as it was, and in general doubts the opinion expressed here and there that southern soldiers are in this respect better than northern ones.

"Numerous southern soldiers have taken part in previous government armies, and you can't make me believe that they behaved any better then than those from the north. Nor do we know now whether the present government soldiers are going to remain disciplined. Okello's army was, until it gained power. Druing the struggle against Amin, Obote's army was supposed to be the best army in the world; we know what happened there after Obote came to power.

"One thing that we at any rate do know is that the country has been run for years by military men from the north, and that we must prevent the same thing from happening with military men from the south. That is of use to no one. We need unity, we are one country, after all. If the south were to now assume the role of the north, then we would just be putting off our problems."

Power of the Gun

[Question] In the past you have met Museveni several times. What is your impression of him?

[Answer] "He is a fighter. He does what he thinks he has to do. He believes strongly in the power of the gun and has, more than I do, confidence in militarism. I would not say that I do not trust Museveni, but I am likewise not convinced of his good intentions.

"For a long time he worked together with Obote in the Uganda Democratic Party. During Amin's time they were together in Tanzania, and they returned together to oust Amin. Subsequently, Museveni proposed a division of the country: the north for Obote, the south for him--fifty-fifty. Obote rejected this.

"Recently, Museveni tried this again from Nairobi. Now I wonder, how does this position relate to the interests of the Ugandan people? Is it in the interest of the people that the country be split in two for the sake of two military groups? Were the people asked? No."

"In the past 8 months in Uganda, I have spent most of my time in the fields. Within our army, I am a 'political commissioner'--it is my duty to show the soldiers the political meaning of the struggle. Explain why they are fighting, and to continually hold out to them what the goals are that we envisage: freedom, democracy, progress, unity. It is important that a soldier with a gun always be told why he is carrying a gun.

"We slept in bivouacs, covered a little with grass. It isn't cold at night, you don't even need blankets. There is not an eastern wind bringing 10

degrees of frost with it. We lived there a very natural life deep in the bush, with some snakes in the neighborhood from time to time."

The interview in Alkmaar is taking place on the day that Sabiit is to return to Uganda. As a going-away celebration, he had gone out the night before with his wife and children. When they went to bed at three o'clock, he said to his wife that he actually had to get out of bed: "Soldier training began every morning at three o'clock. Until seven o'clock, we did mostly physical exercise. After breakfast, the actual program began: running, jumping, crawling, weapon exercises. Every day, until it turned dark. Everyone knew that the resistance army had to be better trained than the government soldiers, who generally don't train for longer than three to four hours a day and spend the rest of the time hanging around in the barracks. Thus, resistance soldiers become better and tougher, in part because they have to live under much worse circumstances. Moreover, they are better motivated: they know that they must fight in order to get home safely."

Fighting Children

[Question] After the fall of Okello, it became clear that the NRA resistance army has many children who are militarily active. Is that also the case in your UPFA?

[Answer] "Of course. You must know that in the area west of Kampala, fierce fighting took place between Obote's government troops on the one hand and the NRA and UPFA on the other hand. Many people lost their lives there, so that many children lost their parents. The children often did not know where to go and really had no other choice than to join one of the resistance groups. They subsequently had training there."

[Question] Most Ugandan young people have for their entire lives experienced nothing other than violence from one population group towards the other. How do you then achieve a situation in which the oppressed group is ready to work together with its former opponent?

[Answer] "That will certainly be difficult, but nevertheless..." Sabiiti sighs, and reflects. "It has been said that this war should have neither a winner nor a vanquished party. Because as long as one side considers itself the winner and the other side imagines itself to be the loser, the problems are still there and the previous misery starts all over again. This is also why it is so enormously important that we achieve negotiations with all groups and develop a political strategy together.

"In addition, we must achieve a situation in which members of the military no longer identify with a specific group, but instead see themselves as members of the Ugandan military in a national army. At the same time, everyone must become inbued with the fact that the gun is not amenable to governing--we've seen that enough already."

Last June, Sabiiti talked about his mother, with who he had no contact during his stay in the Netherlands; not even written contact because he was afraid

that the letters would be intercepted. They only kept each other informed through roundabout channels.

No Risks

[Question] Have you seen her in recent months?

[Answer] "No, I haven't been able to. At the beginning I had no time, and when it became possible, it turned out that the road from Kampala to the southwest was blocked by the NRA. Perhaps I could have gone that way, but I am not, after all, a member of the NRA and I didn't want to take any risks. I have been 'in touch' with her through an intermediary."

[Question] Have you had any contact with your family during those 8 months?

[Answer] "No. You have to understand, in the fields especially it is difficult to seek out contact. There are no telephones. Moreover, most of the time you are acting for the country. If you read books about revolutions you see that families often have to suffer under such circumstances. It is also not the first time that we have been apart for some time. In 1982, I received my military training, so that I didn't see my wife and children for a year and a half. Some have been separated from their families for 5 years. These are simply problems that go along with the situation. Anyway, my wife is not entirely alone. She has many friends, spread over Europe, in the same situation. They keep in touch by telephone or go for visits.

"If you want your children to be happy in Uganda, to get their education and become good Uganda citizens, then you fight for it. Because if we don't do it, who will?

12271
CSO: 3614/82

FAR RIGHT LEADER CONTESTS QUESTIONS ON APARTHEID, POLITICS

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 27 Nov 85 p 5

[Interview Between Jaap Marais, Leader of the HNP, and Columnist Willem de Klerk]

[Excerpt] Willem de Klerk, the presenter of the "To Tell the Truth" television program, recently had a discussion with the leader of the HNP (Herstigte Nasionale Party) Mr Jaap Marais. The entire interview is provided herewith.

De Klerk: The accusation is being made that you are clinging to the useless past, that the voices of Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd are almost sublime to you and that you do not take into account the altered circumstances with development. What is your answer to that?

Marais: Naturally the great change which has taken place is that the National Party (NP) has completely lost its character and that today the HNP [Reconstituted National Party] is the revived NP.

De Klerk: I am referring to the change in the situation of South Africa, to the realities of South Africa.

Marais: The situation that has changed, has been changed by the NP, because that party has changed its character. It could not remain a national party and have done those things which it is now doing.

De Klerk: Do you think that the NP's former policy, to which you are now clinging, can have any hope of success? The point of view is that it is an old and weathered policy which has not succeeded. For example: one of its aspects was the homelands as the only political linkage of the Blacks. It has not worked. What is your answer to that?

Marais: There are only two bases of principle in South African politics: a national basis of principles or a liberal one. We place ourselves on the national basis of principles. The liberal basis of principles has failed everywhere in Africa and now it is visibly failing in South Africa. We are stuck with a sorry economic plight, with foreign isolation and with internal violence. These things are testimonials for the failure of this policy.

De Klerk: Mr Marais, the answer you gave me is a good one, but I am not letting you go scott free on this other argument. Your point of view, and that of the HNP, is that we must return to the Malan/Strijdom/Verwoerd era. Now I am making this point: One of their fundamental points was the development of homelands and a separate economy. This has not worked, but you want to re-institute that. How are you going to succeed in this?

Marais: It did not work, because after Dr Verwoerd the National Party proceeded to kill that policy. It was about to succeed. Look: Dr Verwoerd said that by 1978 the stream of Blacks to the white area had to stop and by the year 2000 there should not be more Blacks than Whites in the white areas, and that this ought to be a black population that comes and goes.

De Klerk: Is this still your view?

Marais: That is still our view.

De Klerk: But this has not happened. Just how are you going to make it happen?

Marais: When we take over the government we are going to make it happen again.

De Klerk: How are you going to do this?

Marais: Through economic measures.

De Klerk: By setting up a separate economy in the homelands?

Marais: By the development of homelands to take place in terms of the needs of those populations, by building the proper infrastructure with the decentralization of industries to the borders and a fast means of transportation to take them there so that they invest their incomes there. That is the important thing.

De Klerk: But, Mr Marais, this has not worked.

Marais: It was about to succeed and it was for this reason that Dr Verwoerd was removed from the scene.

De Klerk: The whole question, which even I want to ask, is that of the Blacks's flow back. Are you going to force the Blacks to head back to the homelands if you succeed with your plans of building an entirely new and extensive homelands economy--something which economists consider untenable? How are you going to pick up the individual here and put him down there?

Marais: Through economic measures. You make it more attractive for the individual to go there; moreover, we must be willing to make sacrifices in terms of white standards in order to achieve this.

De Klerk: And what if the individuals are unwilling to go there?

Marais: Then we certainly must convince them that their rights here will be very limited.

De Klerk: Mr Marais, are you still for discrimination and discriminating legislation?

Marais: Look here; discrimination is merely the opposite of preference. You cannot exercise preference without discriminating and a people have the right to discriminate in favor of their own kind... If you do not do this, then nationalism cannot exist.

De Klerk: Would you want to have this incorporated into a specific preference act?

Marais: Yes. Certainly. If it is moral to have preference for a people in order to insure their survival, then it is also moral to set this down in the form of legislation.

De Klerk: Is this moral? You know, it is also being said that your party is setting up an open, and in some instances hidden racism. Is racism, in the sense of self aggrandisement and rejection of another race, moral? What is your answer to that?

Marais: This is a very arbitrary definition of racism. If you are a racist then the National Party under Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd was also racist and I reject this completely, because we stand for the same principles for which they stood.

De Klerk: But you now fall back to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. They did not have any divine perceptions. They were people who developed certain policies for their times which both you and I supported in those days. But now you continue to cling to them and only to them. For me it makes no sense to say that because they did not intend any racism, then you do not intend any racism. In one of your pamphlets, for instance, you say: "Because of that the white race has achieved a more prominent place in the world and this has given it greater political power, higher living standards and greater responsibility." This is in essence self aggrandisement, a sort of chauvinism. Mr Marais, please provide an answer to this, because you are being attacked severely on this matter.

Marais: I can answer this in one breath. Whatever there is in this is history pure and simple. Anybody who contests this wants to ignore history.

De Klerk: Is it not also an historic fact that there is now a tremendous uplifting of the black man? That economically, politically and socially he is going through a tremendous phase of development and that he is becoming an equal on many levels with his peers in South Africa, namely, the Whites?

Marais: This is very artificial. If you look at Africa, where Blacks have been left to themselves and if you also look at history, nowhere in the world and never yet in history has there been a single black society that has been able to uplift itself on its own to the living standards of white society.

De Klerk: Do you feel that they are forever doomed to an inferior position?

Marais: No, not to an inferior position, to their different position.

De Klerk: Mr Marais, I also want to ask you: If I make the point that your policy is politically, economically and internationally impracticable, what is your answer to this aspect of impracticability?

Marais: It is more practicable than the present policy being followed.

De Klerk: How so?

Marais: The present policy can have only one outcome. Namely, as demonstrated in the rest of Africa, that when you start accepting equalization in the economic, social, cultural and political areas, this leads to a one-man-one-vote and to the total collapse of the economic and political order. As for us, the policy we follow has been tested in South Africa. When Dr Verwoerd was alive the growth rate was 6 percent and the inflation rate 2 percent. We had won the international law suit, South Africa stood unchallenged in international politics and we had peace and order as opposed to what we have today.

De Klerk: Do you mean to say that it is the country's line of policy which has caused the unrest and the economic problems?

Marais: The unrest stems mainly from the rising expectations created by continuous concessions, "reforms" and "adaptations" in attempts to please the outside world.

De Klerk: In our conversation you and I are stuck on the point that I say that the policy must change for the very reason that Verwoerd's policy did not succeed. That has already been proven and written off as a failure, therefore we must make changes in the country. You cannot satisfactorily point out to the onlookers that your policy has really worked and can still work. I would like to give you a chance to explain to the public how that policy is feasible.

Marais: Well, I just told you what the prevailing conditions were when Dr Verwoerd was alive. We had a very strong economy, a strong international position and internal order. What else whould you want in a country? Look at the chaotic condition in which the country now finds itself. We cannot pay our debts, we have an inflation rate of 16 percent, people are applying for bankruptcy at an unheard-of rate, unemployment is rising... The basic reason for this goes back to the government's initiation of equalization. If equalization must succeed it must also do so in the economic area and if it fails there it cannot succeed in any other area.

De Klerk: People who have studied this matter are now saying that aspects of the economic crisis have also been caused by the fact that the outside world feels that the government has simply not make fast enough progress in its policy. Would you assume that the outside world would applaud, would not ask for repayments of loans and would not apply economic sanctions, in the event

that you were to take over the government? As the present government has had to endure so much under the furor of the outside world, how would your government handle this outside world?

Marais: You simply must not expose your country to the pressures which the outside world is now exercising.

De Klerk: How do we manage to do so?

Marais: The government's mismanagement of finance during past years in incurring loans at such a rate without taking into consideration when these must be paid back... This is where it is now exposed to foreign pressure. The second thing is: It has shown to the outside world that put under pressure it gives in. By doing that it has enticed more pressure.

De Klerk: In your pamphlets, and even here, you have been playing down boycotts and international pressure as though these are little games. If we look at the situation in which we now find ourselves: a sports boycott, an economic boycott, mail boycott, threats of a TV boycott, threats to South African Airways landing rights, technological boycotts... All this is taking place with a so-called enlightened government; so, how can you guarantee that if you get your way the outside world will not come down on us in a greatly more agressive manner?

Marais: Now you come up with the "enlightened" government. To me all this enlightenment is more like a state of being blind than enlightened. No, I do not regard these things as little games. I think you twist things around when you say these are little games. The fact is that the outside world is exercising pressure in order to achieve its objective in South Africa. But its objectives are irreconcilable with white survival. The outside world wants a one-man-one-vote system for South Africa and it would be altogether stupid to assume that any party in South Africa (even the Federal Progressive Party) can appease the outside world. We must therefore decide what requirements are of importance to us and then we must be willing to stand up.

De Klerk: The policy you advocate is politically unacceptable for the great majority of South Africa, because it would promote a worse revolution than now. It is unacceptable to the non-white voter; it is unacceptable to the great majority of white voters; it is unacceptable as an ideal, because it does not come up with an agreement, and it is morally unacceptable. What do you say about acceptability, Mr Marais?

Marais: With respect to the Blacks, the ANC and the UDF (United Democratic Front) will never be satisfied by the progressives. This cannot serve as a yardstick. As for the Whites, SASOL [South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation] has now indicated that the HNP's policy is more acceptable in the Free State than the National Party's policy.

De Klerk: One swallow in a summer?

Marais: Well, indications in present statistics point to 50 seats taking the same position as SASOL. In Transvaal the shift is already sufficient for a right wing majority against the government.

De Klerk: Yes, you know how it is with statistics...each statistician works out things differently. The other argument is: Well and good, there is a consolidation of far right groups, but there will also be a consolidation of other groups and these will always have a good two thirds white majority over the so-called right wing groups.

Marais: I think you are entirely wrong. As the National Party moves further to the left it will be losing more and more Afrikaner support and ultimately it will end up being the same situation as the United Party. Actually today's National Party is just the old United Party with an NP mask.

De Klerk: Is your party very strongly connected with the pronouncements of Eugene Teere'Blanche?

Marais: No. We have stated publicly that the ABW [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] has come out saying that the political contest is going to fail and therefore there must be an alternative. Now I am telling them that if you are honest, when you say that the political contest will fail, then you must present an alternative while you are a part of the political contest. But then you will find yourself in the ambiguous position where you cannot rightfully continue on with your contestation.

De Klerk: Therefore, you are not altogether in agreement with the kind of militarism emanating from the ABW, are you?

Marais: Not at all. I believe in party politics.

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COALITION CABINET CONSIDERED UNLIKELY

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 8 Mar 86 p 10

[Article by Dawie: "Coalition: How Realistic Are the Talks in Our Present Politics?"]

[Text] Times of great pressure bring a sharper look at politics. Possibilities of reorientation are brought up. Sometimes there is talk of the need to reorganize political parties, and then coalition talks break out overnight like measles. Something of this could be observed this week when the chairman of the South Africa Foundation, Dr Fred Du Plessis, the big boss of Sanlam, advocated a "centrist coalition" at the Foundation's annual meeting in order to take the leadership initiative in the country.

Ingloriously

Well, one assumes that such a proposal has been made with the best intentions. Everybody wants to see progress in politics. But how realistic is a coalition in current politics? Such plans from the ranks of business are nothing new. In the early 1960's, after Sharpeville, there was something similar; the idea of a "best man government" to lead South Africa through that crisis. Nothing came of it. After that, Sir Sir De Villiers Graaff embarked on his "Save South Africa" campaign, but that could not even save the United Party for a while. What remained, the NRP, lies in its last entrenchment in Natal and is counting the hours. A later idea, of Rand businessmen in particular, of a "meritocracy" to govern the country, did not get off the ground. The Progressives also recently started a cooperation initiative, their so-called movement for a national convention. However, the PFP's mere presence in it gave so much offense that it got out of the movement, and eventually Dr Van Zyl Slabbert threw in the towel and acknowledged that his plan had failed ingloriously.

All this of course does not mean that cooperation among reasonable South Africans should not be pursued. The question is only: Is it not already the aspiration of the government, and does it not deserve much more help to attain it?

It has already started consensus government, with a Colored and an Indian minister in the Cabinet. The door stands wide open to all reasonable people to help further expand it. A coalition, one of the most fragile forms of government, in any case looks like wishful thinking in current white politics. A coalition with which party? On the left, the PFP has just lost its leader and his chief lieutenant. Both actually placed a disdainful motion of no-confidence in their own party. Who deems it necessary to enter into a coalition with the remainder? The answer obviously does not lie on the far right, for there Dr Andries Treurnicht, who stole the HNP's policy, is already flirting with the AWB. Besides, the government is already also seeking the cooperation of Colored groups in the planned National Statutory Council, which may work out a new constitution and would get statutory powers. Far-reaching possibilities are thus lying on the negotiation table; others only have to come and help the government with this.

'Experts'

Another story circulating in certain business circles is relevant. This is that the government should attract "experts from outside." The government of President P.W. Botha of course is already making use of academics and other experts on a scale as never before. But nobody has a monopoly on wisdom, not the private sector either. The country's foreign debt burden can be mentioned in that connection.

Checkmates

How so? The lion's share of that debt was indeed incurred by the private sector. And when foreign credit accommodations were withdrawn, who had to rush to the aid of businessmen and bankers, who can express themselves quite critically about the government, in as big an emergency as seldom experienced yet? Moreover, South Africa has already seen quite a lot of businessmen and similar "experts" in action in politics. But men like Dr Zach De Beer, the "whizz kid" Dr Jake Jacobs, Dr Frans Cronje and Dr Jan S. Marais would certainly admit themselves that they have not exactly made the political cash register ring. Interestingly enough, Dr Du Plessis in his speech was also against "a heap of communication checkmates" with which the country is dealing. He is furnishing that criticism after just such a short circuit; the announcement of the inquiry into parliamentarians' compensation. That committee's report hit the public like a bucket of cold water, especially because of faulty communication about an extremely thorny matter--and Dr Du Plessis was a member of the committee.

Helmsmen

Advice and help from businessmen or other experts is welcome for overcoming difficult problems. As long as some people just realize, as quite a few theologians should also understand, that the best helmsmen are often on shore.

13084
CSO: 3401/112

RUMORS OF CHANGES IN CABINET DISCUSSED

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 19 Mar 86 p 13

[Article: "Louis out, Denis in, Pik to Defense?"]

[Text] Interesting speculations on changes in the Cabinet are now making the rounds. The little bird that has been whispering for a long time about the resignation of Mr Louis Le Grange is getting louder these days. Mr Le Grange is apparently going to be replaced as minister of law and order by the current minister of defense, General Magnus Malan. Mr Pik Botha, who fell into disfavor after his prediction about a black president, is going to have his sensitive portfolio taken away from him. Rumors have it that he is going to be the new minister of defense. One can only guess to what extent his honorary colonelcy is going to help our Pik in this post. An ex-Progressive and now ambassador to London, Dr Denis Worrall, is becoming the new minister of foreign affairs, so the prediction goes. Dr Worrall, although far-left, probably has enough diplomatic acumen not to come right out and predict a black president in public.

Shifts and appointments like the above are surely going to cause some muttering in beards. Sarel is especially wondering what senior policemen are going to say about an ex-soldier as chief. The somewhat tense relations between the police and Defense Force are of course widely known.

It is highly doubtful whether changes like these will lead to more efficient administration. One can shuffle and reshuffle things around, but the end result will always be sad.

13084
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NAVY COMMAND RELOCATED AT HISTORIC SIMONSTOWN

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 8 Mar 86 p 10

[Editorial: "Navy Command Back in Simonstown"]

[Text] Simonstown, named after Simon van der Stel, was in 1743 declared an official winter anchorage for the ships of the United East Indian Company. In the same year, Baron G. W. van Imhoff, governor-general of the Dutch East Indies, visited the Cape and chose the landing place in Simons Bay for setting up a warehouse, hospital and barracks. In 1814, 172 years ago, Simonstown became a naval base when it became the base of the South Atlantic Squadron of the British Navy. Simonstown's importance increased when the Anglo-Boer War broke out. A part of the present harbor and the drydock was built. A prisoner-of-war camp was here, where the Boers remained until they were sent overseas as exiles. It is told that a stout Boer was one day seized by a shark when he went swimming. He climbed onto the shark's back and held on tight to the dorsal fin for dear life. Boer and shark later landed on the beach, where a Colored boy's leg was bitten off by the shark. The Boer got out of the struggle unscathed.

Boer graves of fighters who died while they were in the camp are neatly kept up in Simonstown's historic cemetery. Simonstown's importance was again proven in the First World War when the Suez Canal was closed, and it was again the case in the Second World War: Simonstown played a key role; 5,000 people worked in the shipyard and 170 warships and 60 damaged merchant ships were repaired. The shipyard was turned over to South Africa at a magnificent ceremony on 2 April 1957. Simonstown became South Africa's most important naval base, in addition to the site of the navy's headquarters. However, the naval headquarters was moved to Pretoria on 1 February 1976.

Now the Cape is again Dutch--a large part of the navy's command structure is back in Simonstown, where it belongs. As recently announced by the chief of the navy, Vice Admiral Glen Syndercombe, the command structure has been rationalized in a manner that the navy will again have the senior Defense Force officer in the Western Cape. Some of the senior officers were quite unhappy when the navy's headquarters was moved to Pretoria in 1977 [sic - v.s.]. How can a seaman exist so far from his element, not to mention act effectively? Later, however, most came to other opinions when the advantages of joint planning became clear. Nevertheless, the organization remained

clumsy. It is difficult to manage many aspects of naval defense and warfare so far from headquarters. The command structure has been simplified by the new dispensation. A smoother chain of command has been created which facilitates operational control.

The navy will consist of two commands: Navy Command West and East. The existing three regional commands (Cape, Natal and Walvis Bay), in addition to the three functional commands (operations, logistics and training) are being intergrated into the two commands. The headquarters of Command East will be in Durban, and that of Command West in Silwermyn near Simonstown. The last-mentioned will also control Walvis Bay. The border between the two commands runs past Knysna. All navy functions, such as operations, logistics and training, will not be controlled from Pretoria, but by the two commands. Quite a lot of money will be saved. This step is welcomed everywhere, not only because of the rationalization which made it possible, but also because important command structures of the navy are back where they belong: by the sea.

13084
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NAUDE MAY BE REPLACED BY BLACK AS SACC SECRETARY

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 17 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by DIE BURGER correspondent: "Black Leader Perhaps Getting High SACC Post"]

[Text] Johannesburg--The South African Council of Churches (SACC) is under strong pressure to grant the post of chief secretary, now held by Dr Beyers Naude, to a black church leader. The newly established Black Ecumenical Church Leaders' Consultation (BECLC) is one of the bodies which, it was learned, is exerting pressure to bring the internal structure of the SACC under the control of black church leaders. The post of chief secretary becomes vacant in January of 1987 when Dr Naude's temporary appointment expires. He was temporarily appointed for two years in late 1984.

According to what was learned, a special committee has already been set up to choose a new leader for the SACC. A final list of candidates will probably be submitted at the SACC's next meeting in June. Names which have already been mentioned in that context are Rev. Frank Chikane, director of the Institute for Contextual Theology, and Dr Takatso Mofokeng, a minister of the NG [Dutch Reformed] Church in Africa and a lecturer at Unisa. Dr Naude confirmed yesterday that he is stepping down at the end of this year, but would not comment on the speculations about a possible successor. Nor would he confirm that pressure is being exerted on the SACC by the BECLC.

In the meantime, the assistant chief secretary of the SACC, Mr Dan Vaughan, said he is resigning at the end of this year.

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1200 PETITION TO KEEP UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA WHITE

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 19 Mar 86 p 2

[Article: "Petition Against Open UP Succeeds--Secret Vote Put Off"]

[Text] More than 1,200 members of the public have already signed a petition against admitting non-white students to the University of Pretoria. The petition arises from the admission of 20 non-white students to the university for the current academic year. Signatures against opening up UP were collected in a spontaneous manner and were initially concentrated only on alumni. However, there was soon a rush of other persons who also wanted to register objections in that manner. Consequently further lists were circulated, which resulted in a particularly positive response.

The petition follows a mass gathering of students last year, at which a motion was adopted by a great majority against the admission of non-white students. This motion was recently ratified by the Student Council. The first petition, which was particularly directed at alumni, promises special support to the Afrikaner Students' Front which took the lead in opposing opening up UP. The petitions are going to be accompanied by a letter to the rector, Professor Danie Joubert, in which the students are highly praised for their vigorous action to take a direct stand against the decision of the University Council. The letter reads, among other things, that "by their action, the present generation of students have shown that they are worthy of the name `Afrikaner' in its full meaning. Their action shows that they are not willing to give away their heritage--which was built up and protected with the lives and property of their forefathers--to those who are alien to the "volk" [tr.'s quotes] and race."

In the meantime, leftist-oriented students on the campus have withdrawn their request for a secret vote among students on the question of opening up the university. Fear of a defeat was obviously the reason for this unexpected step.

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HNP OPPOSED TO NATAL-KWAZULU COOPERATION

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 19 Mar 86 p 2

[Article: "`KwaNatal' Will Fail - HNP" "Marais Refuses to Take Part in Natal `Powwow'"]

[Text] The HNP has refused an invitation to take part in negotiations for setting up a joint legislative authority for Natal and KwaZulu. In a letter in which he replied to an invitation from Mr Frank Martin, LUK, to attend the deliberation in Durban on 3 April, the leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais, said that the party has already committed itself to fight against the idea of a mixed government in Natal.

"We regard the plan as unpractical," Mr Marais states in his letter. "The union of Whites and Blacks in a governmental system has already been tried innumerable times, and each time it failed, to the great distress of the people who participated in it in good faith. You will of course also be required to explain the proposed governmental system and persuade your white compatriots to accept it. This places a great responsibility on you, because if it fails, as it necessary will, you will bear the guilt for those suffering because of it, like your racial and ethnic comrades in former Rhodesia. Besides that, the financial implications of the plan are now already calculable on the basis of the current South African budget for General and Specific Affairs. Some facts should be stated in order to promote sobriety."

Mr Marais then points out that in the current fiscal year Whites are contributing 77 percent of total personal income tax and general sales tax, as opposed to 15 percent by Blacks, five percent by Coloreds and three percent by Indians. However, in the apportionment to White Specific Affairs, the Whites receive only 38 percent of the total; that is to say, not even half of what they contribute. But Blacks receive 45 percent of the budget; that is, three times as much as what they contribute. Coloreds receives 12 percent; that is, almost 2 1/2 times as much as what they contribute; and the Indians five percent, or 40 percent more than what they contribute.

"With the larger black and Indian populations of Natal in contrast to the relatively smaller white population, it goes without saying that the financial burden will be much higher on the Whites in order to finance the other groups. For the sake of honesty, you should state these facts to the Whites of Natal.

Mr Marais writes to Mr Martin that "at public gatherings in Natal I will deal with the meaning of these finances as they apply to the composition of Natal's population, and show how unfeasible the whole idea is and what a financial disaster it would be for the Whites."

The government has in the meantime reacted favorably to the plan to create a joint executive authority for Natal and KwaZulu. The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said it is government policy that, apart from political institutions to accommodate the different communities in South Africa, an interdependence be accepted among various regions, governments and regional authorities in numerous spheres.

Mr Heunis reacted after negotiations with a joint delegation from Natal and KwaZulu. The chief minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi; the administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman; and Mr Martin were members of the delegation.

The so-called "Indaba" [tr.'s note: Zulu word used in SA; roughly = "powwow"] on 3 April is aimed at implementing the next phase of the plan -- a joint legislative authority. The NP has not yet revealed whether it is going to accept an invitation to take part.

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MOTIVE BEHIND ARSON AT NATAL UNIVERSITY VIEWED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 24 Mar 86 p 12

[Editorial: "Radical Realities"]

[Text] There is a common denominator in the fire at the University of Natal on the one hand, and, on the other, the sort of reality that the so-called South African conference, starting in Britain today, is experiencing. This again illustrates the intolerance of the radicalism which has become such a part of South African society. The fire in Durban, which, among other things, destroyed the valuable research work of Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, was obviously a demonstration of opposition to the talks between the Natal Executive Committee and the government of KwaZulu on setting up one administration for Natal and KwaZulu. Professor Schlemmer has played an important role in getting the talks going. Further consultations with other interest groups were to follow, to which the ANC, the UDF and representatives of other white political interests, among others, have been invited. The so-called Natal Plan includes cooperation and powersharing at a provincial level, and some people obviously do not approve of that.

In Britain the ANC has also again shown its true colors regarding its pursuit of total control by refusing to take part in a conference intended as a kind of experimentation for a national convention. Just like the unsuccessful Convention Alliance of the Progressive Federal Party and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the organizers of the British conference have also now learned that discord among Black and Black runs deep, and is not a fabrication of the South African government. The reason for the ANC's refusal to participate in it is that it does not want to be on the same platform with a representative of Chief Buthelezi. That would imply that the ANC is willing to share power with the Inkatha movement and other Blacks. Oliver Tambo deemed it appropriate to visit Cuba over the weekend; and one can only guess what all was talked about there.

Obstacles like those which radicals, on the left or right, continually place in the path of negotiation politics makes it that much more difficult for South Africa to get answers to its complicated problems. The great majority of South Africans will not be able to evade a choice between violence and peaceful reform much longer.

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ANC CONDUCT MAKES ALL-PARTIES CONVENTION IMPOSSIBLE

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 25 Mar 86 p 24

[Editorial: "Another Unsuccessful `Convention'"]

[Text] Those who think that a national convention is the key to solving South Africa's political problems can learn quite a bit from what has just happened in Britain to the so-called academic conference of South Africans. It fell apart even before it could start, for reasons which most South Africans understand only too well. The official reason why the conference was cancelled is that five of the most important participants decided to withdraw on the spur of the moment. The reality is that the clash of interests inherent in the multiethnic structure in South Africa could not be avoided even on "neutral" ground. The ANC thus did not want to take part in talks where Inkatha would also be represented, and from the very start it objected to any possible participation by a representative of the South African government. And, in the eyes of some participants, the conference would have had little meaning without the ANC. After all, it is behind the violence in South Africa.

According to the British organizers, the conference was convened for calm discussion to promote mutual understanding. That sounds quite praiseworthy, but if such a discussion could not even get off the ground, where only a handful of interested parties would be present, it is shortsighted to think that a national conference holds a magic formula for South Africa. The ANC's objective of a total takeover of power by violence and the sharp division along ethnic lines in the country cannot so easily be pushed into the background.

The disunity of interests was an enormous rude awakening to the PFP when it tried along with Inkatha to get the convention alliance going a while back. The PFP was eventually compelled to officially dissociate itself from it, because its mere presence offended other parties. The idea of a convention thus still looks impotent. The divergent nature of South African society and especially the ANC's refusal to give up violence are standing squarely in the way of this. That is exactly why the government is fixing its hopes on talks with individual leaders as a practical way to get away from the dangers of a checkmate situation.

13084
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PROBLEMS IN COLOREDS' EDUCATION SYSTEM DISCUSSED

'Gutter' Education

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 24 Mar 86 p 12

[Article by Lyndon Johnstone and John-Paul Valentyn: "The Reveille Call Against 'Gutter' Education"]

[Text] GUTTER is the strong word that critical Colored students have started to use more and more for about the past five years to characterize their education. A team of reporters from DIE BURGER have inquired into the grievances against Colored education. This article, the first in a series, reflects the opinions of a number of pupils and students regarding so-called gutter education.

"Away with gutter education!" has become an awakening call of the school children and students who last year in the Western Cape and elsewhere took the lead in the protracted class boycott and political unrest in which youths played a big role, and in which some died. Against what are the complaints of the pupils and students who, ironically enough, are themselves the product of the education "explosion" of South Africa's Colored population groups? The "explosion" has, for example, resulted in the total number of black, Colored and Indian matriculants who passed the Senior Certificate Examination increasing almost tenfold in 14 years--from 6,077 in 1970 to 55,470 in 1984.

Anonymous

A number of Cape pupils and students were asked shortly after the end of the class boycott what their grievences are against education, and what they mean by gutter education. Some were too embittered to talk. Those who did talk insisted that it be anonymous.

Matric student from Alexander Sinton High School in Athlone:

We were taught in our history how Jan van Riebeeck came here as a hero. They do not say that he was a lawbreaker and that he came here to serve out his sentence. That is gutter education to me. We do not learn the real facts. Even our examination system is gutter education to me. With the examination they test your ability to remember. An examination cannot say whether you

understand anything. That's not the right way to educate people. I can get 90 percent in a subject, but if I go to the university, I cannot apply what I have learned, because I do not understand it. Our educational system does not prepare us for university studies.

Education student A, in his final year at the University of the Western Cape: One can only understand gutter education if you experience it yourself. Many teachers are inadequately trained. In addition, our atheletic fields at schools cannot be compared with those of the Whites. The problem of gutter education is socio-economic and political by nature. The problem arose through apartheid and can only be overcome if apartheid disappears. A rupture has arisen between parents and children as a result of the system, because in many cases both parents work during the day to pay the home rent. Many children are thus left to their own devices.

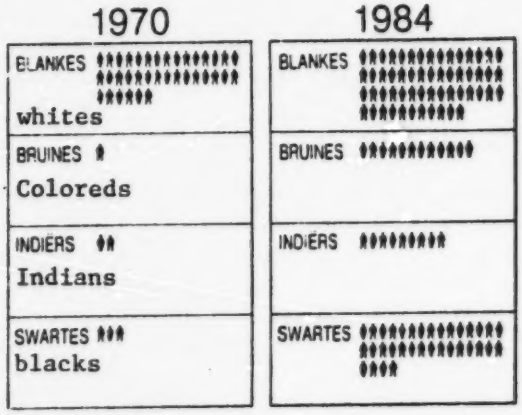
Education student B, at the UWK (University of Western Cape):

To many people gutter education involves history, science and other subjects. They do not realize that it is the whole system we are in. In my view, gutter education is mainly a matter of facilities. If our facilities are inferior, how can we perform? In our schools our students do not get the opportunity to work with microscopes and other scientific equipment. That's certainly not preparation for the university. That's why so many of our children fall behind at the university.

Law student at the UWK:

The laboratory equipment is inadequate. We do not have schools where we can specialize. Many law students therefore today plod along in Latin, because of few schools offer Latin as a subject.

Figure 1. One Thousand Children Who Passed Matric



A graph of the increase in students per year who passed the senior certificate examination, as an illustration of the education "explosion" of South Africa's Colored population groups. Last year's figures were not taken into consideration because the passing marks of the Colored groups were influenced by the class and the examination boycott. In the 14 years the Whites have increased from 36,544 to 55,778; the Coloreds from 1,306 to 12,015; the Indians from 1,926 to 9,242; and the Blacks from 2,845 to 34,213.

Student at Bellville Training College:

The w. .e society is gutter. Not only the educational system, but all society must also be reformed.

Student at Hewat Training College in Athlone:
We start our school career with a handicap. We do not enjoy the same facilities that the Whites enjoy, and our children immediately develop an inferiority complex.

Psychologists

More money is spent on white education than on black, Colored and Indian education together. That's what I call gutter education.

Computer student at the Peninsula Technical School:
Our instruction is of a much lower level than that of the Whites. The most general example is the inadequate laboratory equipment. Many of our children do not even know how a microscope looks. If a school does possess one, a large number of students have to share it, which is totally undesirable. Our children are often forced into certain subjects for which in most cases they have no aptitude. The result is a gutter individual. School psychologists give aptitude tests to students, but the results of those tests seldom reach the children. The solution is one, non-racist, uniform educational system and the death of apartheid.

Teachers' Views

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 25 Mar 86 p 13

[Article by John-Paul Valentyn: "`Gutter' Product of Separate Education"]

[Text] What is the role of the teachers in Colored education, and how do they regard the criticism that it is gutter education? This article, the second in a series based on an inquiry by a team of reporters from DIE BURGER, reflects the opinions of three leaders of teachers' organizations.

"Gutter" education is a relative term which refers to the handicap we have in comparation with the norm, or white education. That handicap is due to the ethnic division of education, says Mr Franklin Sonn, chairman of the Cape Professional Teachers' Union and Rector of the Peninsula Technical School.

Apartheid education has given rise to an unequal distribution of finances, which has increased the handicap. Socio-economic problems also give rise to "gutter" education. The child who comes from a lower socia-economic class is subjected to the same demands as the child who has grown up in a better environment. For example, the matric examination sets an equal standard. The contents of the examination papers are the same for everyone. The child who has studied under difficult circumstances is asked the same questions as the child who has had access to the best facilities.

The effect that the dedicated teacher can have in partially neutralizing the inequalities cannot be underestimated. A good teacher can make the difference in spite of the weak facilities. I do not regard myself as a "gutter" teacher. The challange is just bigger for me. I must on the one hand educate and on the other also fight against the structural inequalities. Divided education is inherently unequal. There should be one uniform educational system. While there is still divided education, we must fight for equal per capita spending. Education is a public service, and it must be said in addition that the quality of education is to a great extent a function of the quality of the teacher.

Mr Pat Samuels, chairman of the Teachers' Association of South Africa:

By the term "gutter" education, students and pupils are trying to convey that their education is of such a low quality that it is actually meaningless. Our education has a big handicap compared with that of the Whites. That can partly be ascribed to different spendings for students--A white child is subsidized more per capita than a Colored. There is furthermore also a difference in facilities. The government has turned a deaf ear to the basic problems of the colored students. They therefore have to give expression to their feelings. One way was to think up a term for their education, which reflects their total adversion to it. Thus "gutter" education originated.

In my opinion, "gutter" education also refers to the socio-economic problems of society. That problem can be solved if the government gives us a better educational system. Furthermore, the quality of the teachers should be improved. The curriculum should also be changed. Many things have improved in our education since 1976, but the government is still moving too slowly. The core of the problem, apartheid, must be removed before "gutter" education can disappear.

Mr Randall van den Heever, principal and deputy chairman of the KPO [Cape Professional Teachers' Union]:

Students started to use the term "gutter" education in 1980, and it is a very sharp term. The students were trying to express the essence of the problem in the sharpest possible way. To me, "gutter" education firstly refers to the terrible inequalities and disparities existing between the services and facilities of our students and those of the Whites. It secondly refers to separate education. The government is at present engaged in bringing about equality, but retaining apartheid. Even if it succeeds in bringing about financial equality, I will still regard the education that Coloreds receive as "gutter". Separate institutions and facilities are inherently unequal.

There is an attempt to coordinate curricula so that they can more or less conform to each other, but students will continually experience problems with a subject like history. Good progress has been made since 1980 in eliminating inequality. These days there are not so many grievances refering to basic educational facilities. However, apartheid and racism still influence our educational structure. That is where the hitch lies. Education must be opened to everyone, and there should be just one uniform educational system. Furthermore, education should be managed by a group of educationists. I want to add, however, that as long as the coordinating structure, the government, is discriminating, there will be no tranquality in our education.

Low Qualifications Blamed

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 26 Mar 86 p 21

[Article by Henry Kleinhans and John-Paul Valentyn: "Handicap Due to Low Qualifications"]

[Text] An important difference between Colored and white education lies in the qualifications of the teachers. That is the opinion of two educationists who are both opposed to the use of the term "gutter" education. This article is the third in a series based on an inquiry by a team of reporters from DIE BURGER.

The low qualifications of a large number of teachers is an important reason for the handicap which Colored education has compared with white education, according to what emerges from a talk with Professor Richard van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape. In his opinion, it will take a while to eradicate that handicap. Professor Van der Ross responded as follows to the criticism that the education of Coloreds is "gutter" education:

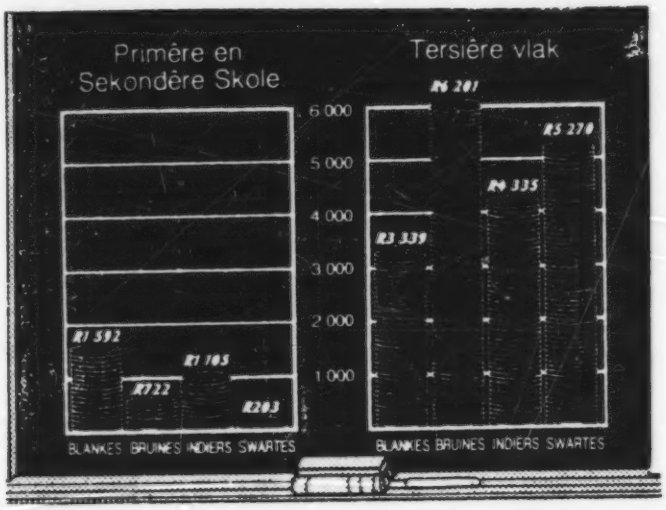
"I could never figure out exactly what is meant by that term. According to what I learned, it refers to inferior education. The inferiority is tied to facilities at schools, training of teachers, syllabuses and the state's per capita spending on students, which differs from race to race. The term `gutter' education is derogatory, and I never use it. Its use reflects on not only the department, but also the teachers, the students and the schools which provide the education. The use of the term is not permissible. `gutter' is a highly offensive term. Those who use it are guilty of poor language. Even if there are handicaps, one should refrain from using such a negative term."

"Education is a long-term process. The most important factor which it involves is the allocation of money. This involves the salaries of teachers. More than 70 percent of the educational budget is spent on that. A large number of teachers still have low educational qualifications. The reverse is the case with Whites. It takes a while to get lower qualified teachers out of the system. I do not want, however, to disparage the work of the lower qualified teacher, because many of them do excellent work."

"I believe that the quality of Colored education has a handicap compared with white education, but it is due to the shortage of properly trained teachers. In the case of black and Colored teachers, most of them by far have received only a primary education (8th standard plus two years). Even with all the zeal which they possess, these people cannot be expected to deliver the same quality of work as the properly trained teachers."

"As for the quality of the examination, the departments of education for Coloreds do not have any handicap. As for curricula and subject content, that education can definitely not be dismissed as `gutter'. I, as a White, would give my left eyetooth to pass woodwork at the matric level in a Colored school. Certainly nothing is lacking in its quality."

Figure 2. 1983-1984 Per Capita Spending



[Box]

A graph of the per capita spending on the pupils and students of the different population groups of South Africa in the 1983/84 fiscal year, which were the most recent freely available figures. In an interview which appeared Saturday in DIE BURGER, Mr Sam De Beer, deputy minister of education and cooperation, said the higher per capita spending on white students has an historical precedent and is the result of various factors. It must be kept in mind that about 80 percent of that budget goes to salaries, as well as that the expenditure per student for primary education is less than that for secondary schools.
[end graph text; continue main text]

"Greater appreciation should definitly be shown for the work which educational people do behind the curtains. I think the officials (of whatever color) who are involved in Colored education are with honest intentions fighting shoulder to shoulder for a better system. If we note the quality of the matric

examination in Colored schools, I cannot agree with those who speak of inferior certificates. For example, our final examination papers are approved by the Joint Matriculation Council. Inferior education may perhaps exist, but inferior cerfificates? No! The things which are referred to in order to demonstrate that white students have more resources available than other groups are perhaps also nothing other than unnecessary luxuries. Education is surely a matter of developing intellectual abilities, and a student can be hindered in this if he is `helped' too much."

Overall System at Fault

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 27 Mar 86 p 9

[Article by Henry Kleinhans: "Change 'System', Not Just Education"]

[Introductory Text] The community is interspersed with examples of people who have tackled so-called "gutter" education and come out on top, says one of the prominent professional people whose opinions are reflected today in the fourth article of the series on "gutter" education, based on an inquiry by a team of reporters from DIE BURGER.

[Main Text] People who want to get rid of "gutter" education should not direct all their emotional attention to criticism against education and reject everything straight off. Other factors besides education should be looked at as reasons for dissatisfaction. This emerged from talks with Prominent Colored members of the community.

Mr Chris Marais, community worker from Retreat:
"Gutter" education is just one of the symptoms of the apartheid system in which we live The level of education to which the white students are exposed is definitely higher than that of the other population groups, but the solution lies in changing the system. Thus, what must be fought against is the system, and not the visible signs or symptoms of it. "Gutter" education will be with us as long as there are different budgets for the different education departments of the various population groups.

Mr Colin Davey, first Colored assistant town clerk of Stellenbosch:
I cannot compare the educational level of the different population groups because I do not have firsthand experience of what, for example, goes on in white schools. What I am throughly aware of is the tremendous shortage of space for students in the area of Stellenbosch. The overfull classrooms are not exactly favorable to the students' achievements. Comparisons should not be made only between so-called white and Colored education, because the subject areas on both sides largely coincide. What is important is that much of the work with which the students are saddled is of no or little use later. This "useless" education is also "gutter" education because it lands in the drain pipes, so to speak.

Part of Whole

Students should be aloud to specialize at an earlier age.
Commandant Graham Jacobs of the Cape Corps School at Eersterivier:

"Gutter" education is in itself not the problem. It should be seen as part of a whole. We can not close our eyes to the preferences for certain population groups, and the unequal per capita allocation by the government to the education of students. That is part of our societal setup. The education with which Colored students are equipped is merely "survival education". It make one wonder whether students are really being equipped well enough for what awaits them. Some will hardly be able to survive on that instruction.

If this then is "gutter" education, okay, but the community is interspersed with examples of people who have tackled that education and come out on top. I feel the solution to the problems of today's youth lies precisely in that. They should gird their loins with the instruction which they recieve -- such as the writer S.V. Petersen, Professor Dick van der Ross, Professor Adam Small and Dr Allan Boesak did. Without his great learning, Dr Boesak would certainly would not have had such a following today. I doubt whether anyone would have listened to him if his education had not enabled him to become chairman of the World Council of Reformed Churches.

Today's students are entirely too militant, but perhaps they use things like boycotts and riots as a smokescreen to hide the fact that they cannot hack it in the classroom. If by "gutter" education, however, is meant the education which is received by Colored students in comparison with their white peers, it should be pointed out that black students almost for sure have a bigger handicap. Those various handicaps can only be removed by pumping in more money.

Community

I assume, however, that the term "gutter" education is just one of those novelties which blew over here from America. We of course identify forever with our black brothers.
An official who deals with consumer affairs:
More can be done to make instruction for everyone in South Africa more community-bound. By that I mean that the needs of a community must first be determined before planning is done accordingly. The system that comes forth from this will hopefully satisfy the needs of that community concerned. In the meantime we should not be offended by our parents having been satisfird with so-called "gutter" education. They were pressed by the need to try and keep body and soul together.

About 80 percent of the working people in the consumer business are women. Not only should curricula be adopted to better suit them, but the numerous men who find themselves in the business world must also be looked after. When is a subject like typing going to be readily available at school for the prospective male journalist? And what about home economics for the prospective chef? Everyone surely knows that at least a basic knowledge of computer science may soon become indispensable. People already have to deal with computers in their work situation, but what relevant knowledge do they get about them in a school context?

Mr Shafiek Noordien, from a company which produces computers, agrees with this. Surely, just the knowledge of mathematics and science come in handy

here, while the ordinary person can get along with the use of his mother language and one or more languages with ease.

Colored Intellectuals Give Views

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 28 Mar 86 p 9

[Article by John-Paul Valentyn: "Much Depends on Yourself"]

[Text] Quite a few Coloreds who went to school and studied in South Africa later acquired a doctor's degree--often abroad. What handicap--if any--did they have? This is the fifth article in a series based on an inquiry by a team of reporters from DIE BURGER into what critics call "gutter" education.

"My school experience was never a drawback to my academic progress here and overseas. All my teachers were graduates and there was never a lack of qualified teachers," says Professor Jakes Gerwel, vice rector of the University of the Western Cape. I have never yet used the term gutter education. Quite a while ago I attended school under the then Cape Provincial Administration. My school experience cannot be generalized. However, this does not mean that one can exonerate the education. I understand the term gutter education (which other people use) as a slogan which is used to express people's dissatisfaction with a variety of aspects of separate education. By this slogan the people want to make known their total rejection of separate education with its necessarily attendant inequality.

Determination

The idea of separate but equal education, which the government is pursuing, is not the solution. Gutter education can only die if there is one non-racist educational system, and that must come some time or other.

Dr Hannes Adonis, teacher of the NG [Dutch Reformed] Mission Church in Goodwood:

I attribute my adademic progress to my own determination, in spite of the education that I received. My theological training at the theological school of the NG Mission Church hindered my academic progress. That instruction was aimed at furthering white domination. It was not aimed at stimulating you as a student to independence. Not until further studies in the Netherlands did I really realize my handicap here.

Professor Adam Small of the department of social work, UWK:

My father gave me instruction as a child on a farm. It was the best education I ever received. So much in life depends on yourself, what you want to do with it. To me gutter education is a fuzzy concept. One hears it so often, but nobody spells out what it means. I understand it as education in terms of apartheid. Gutter education is a convenient word by which the speaker actually wants to say: To hell with separate education. Many times, however, it is a mere outcry, without the concept being clarified.

Classrooms

Separate education means a separate life, and that is an evil. I have felt gutter education, for if you were in a so-called Colored school, you have experienced it tangibly in poor athletic grounds, overfull classrooms etc. Today, however, I can honestly say that I do not give gutter education to my students. A teacher can raise the educational process above gutter education. Separate education, just like apartheid, demoralizes people to the point of listlessness about work. Only exceptional people can arise above that.

Dr Richard Stevens of the department of Bible Studies, UWK:

I went through 12 years of Colored schools and experienced situations that were not on a par with the norm -- white schools. Facilities were not adequate, but I got more through teachers who tried to eradicate the handicap in terms of humanity. I got two kinds of education at the UWK. It started with gutter education and later moved away from that. When I went to America for further studies I found out that I did not have to yield to any other student. Gutter education is also experienced at white schools, in most cases unconsciously. White and Black live their lives right past each other. A school career forms part of a child's socialization, but in South Africa we are not acquainted with that as such. The real goal of schools has gotten pettily lost here. The white children experience things which are peculiar to them. Only at the university do they meet us. We live in separate worlds for 12 years. If we later have contact with each other at the university level, a gap has arisen because a part of the socialization process did not take place.

People like me who have studied outside South Africa have shown to others that Blacks can pull their weight in spite of gutter education. It depends on the individual what he makes of his education. One of the reasons why I returned to South Africa is to dispel those myths that we came from gutter education. Many Afrikaners think we "think slow," but our academic progress contradicts that idea.

We also received a gutter theology in the NG church. I do not believe instruction should come from the group that oppresses us. For example, we are taught history which is not related to us. We never hear our own story. The history is Afrikaner-oriented, and conditions our children.

Professor Eltie Links of the department of economics, UWK:

I received my high and elementary school education at private schools; my education can thus not be compared with that of the average student. I enjoyed individual attention in my education, and there was no question of gutter education. I received my university education at the UWK, which, in my opinion, is standard. When I went to America for further studies I did not have any handicap vis-a vis students there, except for adapting to their conditions. The term gutter education is to me undefinable, because I have never experienced it.

Tuesday: Quite a lot is still lacking in Colored education, Carter Ebrahim says.

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EDITORIAL SEES DISUNITY, 'DEEP DISCORD' AMONG BLACKS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 31 Mar 86 p 6

[Editorial: "Black Discord"]

[Text] The bloody clash in Durban between a group of armed Blacks and delegates to the national conference on black education says a lot about the deep discord in black ranks. It is not accidental that precisely that conference was selected for a confrontation, for it was intended to nourish the radical mind, which in some circles is clever. It has been clear for quite some time that there is polarization not only between White and Black. Blacks also are forced to make a choice between radicalism and evolutionary change. And when some Blacks do not want to join the radicals, they are declared an "enemy of the people," as the conference has now inferred about Inkatha.

From very the beginning it was clear that political considerations would play a dominant role at the conference. Several demands, which were to be met by 31 March, were made to the government after the boycott of black schools was ended. The conference was convened just to discuss the government's reaction and to determine future strategy.

Many black parents who are concerned about their children's education feared that it would lead to a repetition of disruption at schools and educational institutions, either in the form of an indefinite continuation of the school boycott or an intensification of "alteratives" or "liberation education." It is significant that the lifting of last year's school boycott had the ANC's support. Presumably, that measure was decided on because of increasing opposition in the black community itself on the one hand, and, on the other, because certain elements wanted to promote "liberation education." The purpose of that is to politicize students, who have been conveniently concentrated into schools, and prepare them for the "political struggle" with the overthrow of the government as the end goal.

It is understandable why many Blacks had second thoughts about the conference. Many of them obviously do not take pleasure in their children being sacrificed for political aims. They are themselves willing to take drastic measures to prevent that. Some black educationists indeed think that they have achieved something positive with the conference by the fact that a further school boycott has been averted for the time being, but the decisions made there leave no doubt that educational grievances have for a long time no longer been the motive behind radical demands.

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AID IN GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED HOUSING RENT ANNOUNCED

Cape Town DIR BURGER in Afrikaans 31 Mar 86 p 6

[Editorial: "Help With House Rent"]

[Text] Various recent measures show that the government is sensitive to the pressure that difficult economic circumstances are putting on numerous people, and that it is doing everything in its power to help these people, even though greater demands are constantly being made on the national treasury. When it was least expected, tax concessions of more than one billion rands were announced. The price of bread was not raised, and now also coming is help for Whites who are having trouble paying their rent for housing financed by the state. In practice this boils down to the fact that a new formula will be used to determine these people's rent, based on only 25 percent of the breadwinner's income, and not, as at present, on the same percentage of the whole family's income. This involves a considerable saving for such a family.

The government also announced that a committee of housing experts in three weeks is starting a nationwide survey on housing needs and that waiting lists are going to be computerized. That will be able to ascertain where the need is the greatest. Whites, Coloreds and Asians of all income groups will be involved in the survey.

These announcements by the government are a welcome relief for thousands of renters in a period when inflation is sky-high, the buying power of the rand very low and the sword of unemployment is hanging over many people's heads. House and apartment rent are one of the single biggest expenses for a family. The example which the government is now setting can also have an effect on the private sector, where house and apartment rent has escalated just as severely in recent years, putting many renters under tremendous pressure.

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